



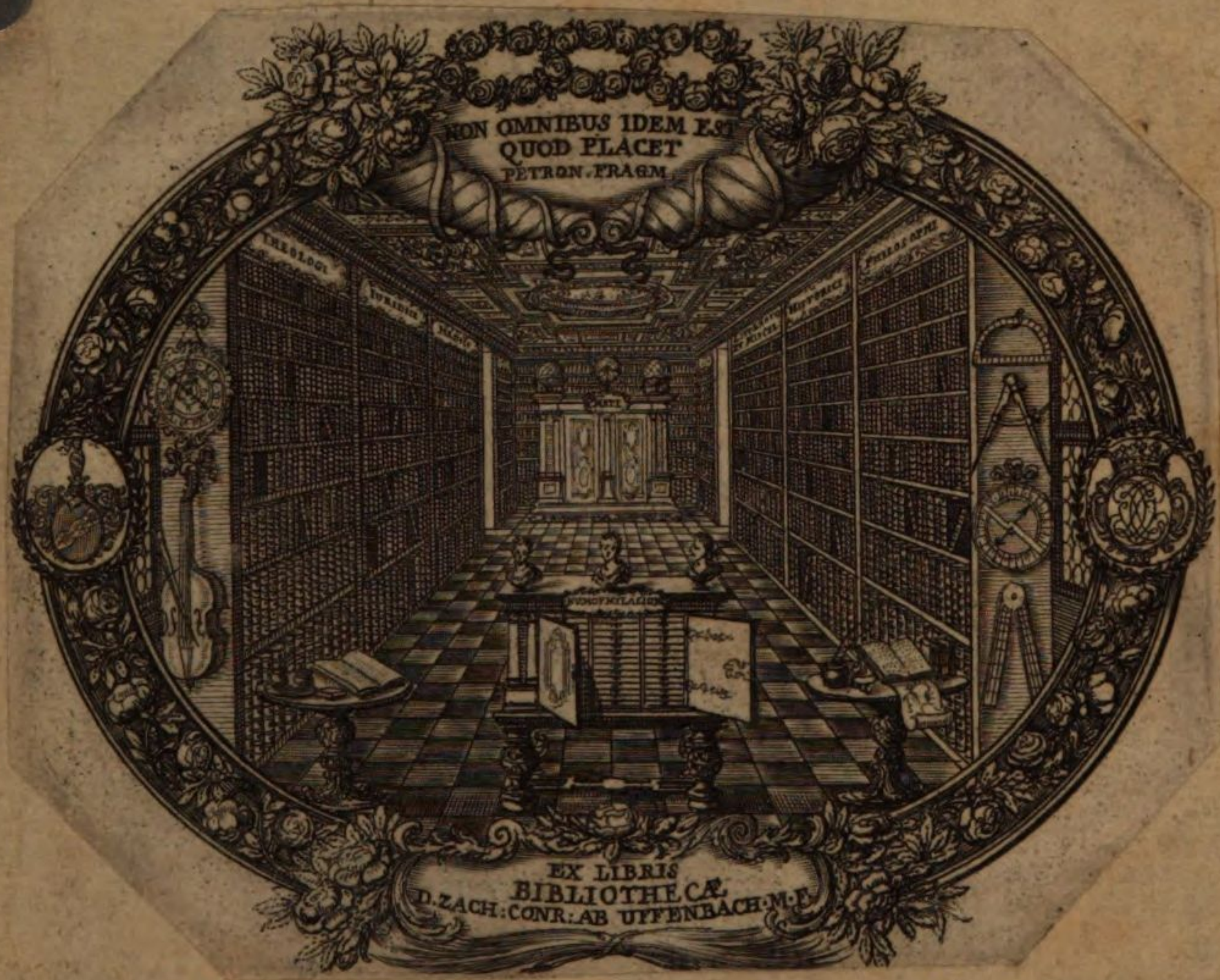
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ESSAYS

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~~The Alliance of Powers~~

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NO APPENDIX

1892

Charles D'Avenant

ESSAYS

UPON

- I. The Ballance of Power.
 - II. The Right of making War,
Peace, and Alliances.
 - III. Universal Monarchy.
-

To which is added,

An APPENDIX

Containing the Records Referr'd to
in the Second Essay.

Nolite existumare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse.—Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere: Quæ nobis nulla sunt: Domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus Luxuriam, atque Avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam: laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam: inter bonos & malos discrimen nullum. Orat. Cato. in Salust.

L O N D O N :

Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1701.

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A N
E S S A Y
U P O N

The Ballance of Power.

E S S A Y I.

THere is no surer Mark that a Government is near its utter destruction, than when the People are observ'd to be careless and unconcern'd at a time when they are press'd and encompass'd with dangers of the highest nature. This State Lethargy is such an Apoplectick Symptom, as is commonly the Fore-runner of Death to the Body Politick.

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Many of the first Rank, for Birth, Parts, Title, and Fortune, instead of bending their thoughts how to serve their Country, are either meanly contriving how a Change may be made whereby they may better themselves, or, which is as bad, they imagin all will be well if a few of their Friends are at the Helm, as if any good to the Publick could be expected from a little shifting of hands, at a season when nothing can prevent our Ruin but an entire change in the very Principles and Measures by which our Ministers have lately govern'd.

No small proportion of our Gentry have neglected and lost their Country-Interest by hawking after Preferments at Court, so that Elections come to be made at Randome, without any regard to Virtue or Merit ; at which we are not to wonder, when the Gentlemen have taught their Neighbours to sell their Votes by a long Practice of exposing to sale their own voices in St *Stephen's* Chapel. If any such get into Parliament, they never believe it goes ill with the Kingdom, if it goes but well with them. Their Estates in Land are not so much
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the Object of their Care, as by what servile Arts they may keep their Employments, or by what Treachery they may deserve better Posts; this leads 'em to be indifferent in what relates to the common Welfare: If their Purfes feel heavy, they take little thought of what becomes of the ballance of *Europe*, nor to which side the Scale inclines. If we represent to 'em the Growth and Power of *France*, and the dangers that threaten *England*, they are not at the least alarm'd, as knowing they have got wherewithal to buy their own Peace, and to recommend them to another Master.

We have known the Times, when the News of such a League as has been lately entred into without Advice of Parliament, would have created a general consternation in the City. Thirty years ago the Shops would have been shut up, if such a dangerous Union had been then made, between the strengths of *France* and *Spain*, as is now, with just reason to be apprehended from the Duke of *Anjou's* Succession to the *Spanish* Crown. All the Town would have had nothing before 'em, but a prospect of Universal Monarchy. Our Fathers in such a case would have

given the Liberties of *Europe* for lost, and our Merchants upon the *Exchange* would have believ'd the largest and most profitable part of the Trade of *England* but precarious for the future; whereas now we remain under the same thoughtless security as *Salust* tell us *Rome* was in, when *Catiline's* Conspiracy was hatch'd and ready to break out. The busy Men of the Town, they, who talk and appear most about, have a different Interest from that of their Country. They neither mind Peace nor War, but as their Bank, New or Old *East India* Stock, may be thereby affected; the interest of *Europe* weighs nothing with them, in comparison of the Interest upon their Tallies; they think a high Discompt upon Exchequer Bills, Bank Notes, Malt or Lottery Tickets, would be of worse Consequence, than the King of *Spain's* Will. They are not at all concern'd when 'tis represented to 'em, that *France* in a very short time may supplant us in our *Spanish* or *Turkey* Trades. They think it a shorter cut, a safer Voyage, and a much more profitable Traffick, to deal between the *Exchange* and the *Exchequer*. They say, if we have Peace, their Stocks will rise in value;
if

if a War comes, they can again bring Money to Thirty or Forty *per Cent.* Interest ; so they shall find their account either way.

'Tis to be feared that of late years, by making the highest stations of the Kingdom the rewards of Treachery and base compliance, by bribing Members of Parliament with Pensions and Places, and by the immense Gains which a negligent and corrupt Ministry has suffered private Men to make out of the Kingdoms Treasure, almost all Ranks of Men are come to be depraved in their Principles. And to own a sad Truth, none are ashamed of having notoriously robb'd the Nation, nay 'tis gone so far, that prefatory Panegyricks are granted to those who have been accused in Parliament, upon crimes for which they may some day be brought to answer ; The little publick spirit that remained among us is in a manner quite extinguished. Every one is upon the scrape for himself, without any regard to his Country, each cheating, raking, and plundering what he can, and in a more profligate degree than ever yet was known. In short, this self-interest runs through all our actions, and mixes

An Essay upon

in all our Councils, and if truly examined is the very Rise and Spring of all our present Mischiefs.

I will venture to say from the time of the *Norman* Invasion, we never had a more dismal view before us : we are rent asunder by Factions, which are still maintained and fomented by those who are apprehensive, their depredations, and other crimes against the Publick, would receive condign Punishment, if once honest Men could be brought to understand one another ; we are every day threaten'd with attempts from abroad, and at best there is but a suspected Peace between us and our Powerful Neighbours.

But taking it for granted their other Affairs will not for sometime permit them to look this way, yet their present Greatness will always give *England* anxious Thoughts, we shall be in care, first for our Allies and Confederates, and then for our selves; we shall suspect, and not without Reason, that every step which increases the strength of *France*, leads towards our ruine. In all Ages any immoderate growth of Power abroad, has made us unquiet, and every

every preparation the *French* make will give us fresh Alarms.

For many Years we have pretended to hold the Ballance of *Europe*, and the Body of the People will neither think it consistent with our Honour nor our Safety to quit that Post.

This Kingdom, from the time we quite lost our Possessions in *France*, did little concern it self with foreign Affairs, till the Reign of *Henry* the 7th. But this Prince began to look about him, and saw that all accessions to the *French* Power were dangerous to his Estate, this made him enter into a strict Alliance with *Maximilian* the *German*, and with King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*; and this induced Him and his Parliament to engage in a War with *Charles* the 8th, to hinder *Brittany* from being united to the Crown of *France*. But *Henry's* Politicks were too finely spun, he thought time would have brought that about which was only to be compass'd by force of Arms; he likewise made a wrong judgment of his Enemies strength, he thought the Dukes of *Britanny* and *Orleance* abler to resist than upon proof they were found to be, besides his na-

tural slowness and caution, and his over frugal Temper, were impediments to his design; he came too late for the succour of his Allies, a Battel was lost, the old Duke died, and left a Daughter, and so by Marriage this important Province was added to the *French* dominions, in the Reign too of a Prince famous for his Wisdom; of which accession *England* will in all future Ages feel the bad effects.

His Son, *Henry* the Eighth, spent most of that immense Treasure (which his Father had hoarded up) in making Wars, Leagues, and Alliances in order to keep the Ballance of Power even between the two great Empires of *Europe*, during the Reigns of *Ferdinand* and *Charles* the Fifth, and of *Lewis* the 12th, and *Francis* the 1st Kings of *France*.

His Daughter, *Queen Elizabeth*, took the same measures. The *Spaniards* must have over-run *France* during the Civil Wars, which lasted from the death of *Henry* the 2d, to the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, but for the seasonable Assistance which from time to time she yielded to those of the Reform'd Religion, and the succours she was all along sending

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ing to the *United Provinces*, which were two invincible Bars that she put to the Progress *Spain* was then making towards Universal Monarchy. By lifting up *France*, she form'd a strength that was able to hold the *Spaniards* in Play, and by Protecting the *Netherlands* she fix'd in their very Flesh a Bearded Arrow, which made a Wound that was hardly to be cured. By holding thus the Ballance, she made *England* safe and happy during her time.

But the next Prince, *James* the 1st, did not tread in her steps, while he govern'd, National Interest was no where pursued, Secret Negotiations were carried on with the Pope, The Protestants were not only oppress'd in *Germany*, but reduc'd to the last extremity in *France*, and besieged in *Montaban* by *Lewis* the 13th, and in *Rochel* by Count *Soissons* and the Duke of *Guise*, and all that was done towards their Relief from hence, was by a Mediation carried on without any Vigour; And, which gave the people dreadful apprehensions, *Spain* in those days was still formidable, and an Over-ballance for all the rest of *Europe*, whose Designs, instead of being oppos'd, were promoted by *England*,

gland, and the King meanly courted an Alliance with his most dreadful Enemy. But in the mean while the fear of Universal Monarchy awaken'd the whole Kingdom, and brought on that Parliament which was assembled in 1621, where very plain Remonstrances were presented to the Throne, setting forth the Dangers that threaten'd the Nation; but *Spanish* Gold had Charm'd our Court, and that Parliament was dismiss'd in Anger, and several of the Principal Members were imprison'd, who could not sit silently and see their Country lost. Thus this Old Prince chose rather to follow the Dictates of his own Will, and the pernicious Advice of his Favourites and Ministers, than the faithful and disinterested Counsel of his Parliament, who Addressed to him to Arm, and enter into such Leagues as might oppose the Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy; but he entertain'd secret hopes, that so potent an Alliance as that with *Spain* appear'd to be, would make him more Powerful over his own People, and the Whispers of *Gundamore* the *Spanish* Ambassador weigh'd more with him than the Representations of his Lords and Commons; but at last all this prov'd fatal
to

the Ballance of Power.

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to him and his Posterity, for by his rough dealing with the House of Commons he then sow'd the Seeds of that discontent which ended in the Ruin of his Son.

The General Clamours, the Voice of the whole People, and their fears of the power of *Spain*, produc'd in that Reign another Parliament, which sat in 1623, and there the *Spanish Match* was broken off, and the King was advis'd to enter into a War with that Nation. And to show how dreadful the appearance of Universal Monarchy has always been to *Englishmen*, this Breach with the then formidable power of *Spain*, was no sooner declared, but there were Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and all other marks of Publick Joy.

From the 5th of King *Charles* the 1st, which began the year 1629, the Ministers of *England* had set up their Rest to live without a Parliament, and consequently they neither had the Inclination nor the means of looking abroad, to see that neither *France* nor *Spain* might get ground the one upon the other. And from the year 1640 we were in a state of Civil War till *Worcester Fight*, which
was

was in 1651; during this intermediate time, lasting about two and twenty years, the Face of Affairs in *Europe* was quite alter'd, the *Spanish* Monarchy, heretofore so dreadful to us, was declin'd in Strength, Wealth, Fleets, Armies and Discipline: And by the Succession of two Able Ministers, *Richlien* and *Mazarin*, the Greatness of *France* was become formidable.

From the time *Oliver Cromwell* pretended to govern his affairs in a Monarchical way, by himself, and without the concurrent advice of the Peoples Representatives, he perform'd no one act that tended to the general good of *England*.

By the Rules of Policy ever observ'd in this Kingdom, he should have bent his Endeavours to keep the Ballance even between those two Nations, at least he should not have help'd a growing Empire to oppress a sinking State. The Measures he took did certainly not consist with the Publick good of *England*, but they conduc'd to his Private Interest: He was Resolv'd to maintain his own ill gotten Power at any rate; He fear'd to be Supplanted by his own Army,

Army, or by the Commonwealth Party : In case therefore of any future Storm, he thought it was his Personal Interest to Fortifie himself with the Ships, Troops, and Money of a Foreign Court.

Spain was too remote to assist him upon any such Emergency, their Abilities were weak, and Councils slow ; but the *French* Ministers were Men of dispatch, the State was rich, at that time not weak in Shipping, most powerful by its Armies, and ever ready to help *England* to destroy itself : And upon these considerations, he chose to enter into a strict League of Amity with *France*.

His Public Treaty with that Kingdom bears date the 3d of *Nov.* 1655. It contains a firm Peace to be established between the two Nations, and mutual Commerce ; but the Terms of it were such, as plainly demonstrate *England* was courted to it, and superior in the Treaty.

But besides, there were secret Articles agreed upon, between *Cromwel* and Cardinal *Mazarin*, of which
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I shall set down the three most remarkable.

2d Art.

That the Summ of Nine Millions of Livres, lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to *Henry* the 4th, with Interest liquidated to Thirteen Millions, should be reimburs'd to the Commonwealth of *England*, as succeeding the said Princess.

3d Art.

That provided the said Money be paid, the Commonwealth of *England* shall be obliged to furnish, and entertain at its own Charge 12 Ships in the *Mediterranean*, there to joyn with the Naval Force of *France*, and to receive Orders from the *French* Admiral concerning the Expeditions that are to be made against *Spain*; and six other Ships to Cruise in the Sea of *Dunkirk*, to hinder the said Town from being Victual'd.

4th Art.

That the Commonwealth of *England* shall be Oblig'd to Furnish the King of *France* with Forty Ships of War, to help in the re-taking *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*; and when these Towns shall be re-taken, the said King shall assist the said Commonwealth with his Army to help in the re-taking of *Ostend* and *Newport*. This

This is the first Instance I can meet with in our History, of *England's* assisting the strongest Prince against the weaker ; and I am the more particular in it, because men are apt to accuse King *Charles* the 2d of having given the first helping hand to the immoderate Power of the *French* ; but tho he committed Errors enow against the good of his Country, yet 'tis evident by what I have shown, that *Cromwell* laid the first Stone of that mighty Building which *France* has since Erected.

If we enquire into the Reasons of this Secret Alliance, no good one can be assign'd. The *Spaniards* were not then in a Condition to do him any hurt ; They had neither Fleet nor Army powerful enough to establish King *Charles* upon the Throne, his Case was every where at that time thought desperate, nor indeed could any thing have restor'd him but the inclination of the People, of which there hardly appear'd then any Symptome, tho the Male Administration that was visible in a few years, made 'em linger after the old Form of Government. As to the *Hollanders*, tho perhaps in their Hearts they

they might wish to see Regal Power settled here, as apprehending the Industry, Frugality, Vigour in action, and Sagacity in Council, of the rising Commonwealth of *England*; yet they were so abated in Strength and Courage by the Unsuccessful War they had carry'd on against this Nation from the year 1652, that they were utterly unable to give the Protector any Disturbance. Seeing therefore he had nothing to fear from abroad, we may reasonably conclude, That he enter'd into this private League with *France*, to no other end and purpose but to keep the People under with the Awe of this Great Alliance, thereby to maintain himself in the Tyrannical Power he had assum'd when he threw off the Use of a Free Parliament.

The Time-servers and Flatterers of that Age did very much applaud the Publick Treaty he had concluded, saying he had made the King of *France* submit to dishonourable Terms, and had compell'd him, against the Laws of Hospitality, to Sacrifice and Banish Princes, who had taken Sanctuary within his Kingdom.

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The false Politicians of that time imagin'd he had gain'd a mighty Point, and thought he had frighted or over-reached that deep Statesman the Cardinal ; but *Mazarin* was too wise not to know what he did, and not to see that no Punctilio of Honour was to come in competition with so great a Benefit, as the Ruin of the *Spanish* Monarchy would produce to *France*. He suffer'd *Cromwell* to enjoy the empty Glory, while he reap'd the solid Profit ; and perhaps it may be reckon'd the Master-stroke of all his Ministry ; for like the Lyon he crouched, but it was to leap more conveniently upon his Prey. An Army victorious in so many Battles, the Reputation our Fleets had gained, and the flourishing Condition of our Trade in those Days, were Circumstances that had set us up very high in the World, and made him willing to sooth *Oliver's* Vanity, and ready to support him in his Ambition : But what did this Treaty produce ? It help'd to ruin a State that had been declining for some Years, and put the Ballance of Empire on the side of *France*, where it has remain'd ever since.

Besides, 'tis to be fear'd this dark and selfish Council had another dangerous Effect :

fect : For these Transactions of *Cromwell* gave King *Charles* and King *James II.* a bad Example, and taught them to expect Security in a Foreign Bottom, and to rely upon that Court to help 'em at any time against their own People, and to have other Reserves than in their Affections: And many wise Men have thought they follow'd this ill Pattern, when they enter'd into that close Correspondence and Conjunction with *France*, which tended so greatly to strengthen and enlarge that Monarchy, and which has since cost *England* so much Blood and Treasure.

When King *Charles* ascended the Throne, *England* so little regarded the Balance of Empire, that in 1664. a War with the *Dutch* was enter'd upon by Advice of Parliament. And here we may wonder how it came to pass that a House of Commons could be induc'd to Advise the King to make a War with *Holland*; but they who remember those Times, know it was a Mine sprung from Court to blow up the Protestant Interest; and the good Caviliers who were then very strong in the House gave into the Matter, out of their old Hatred to a Common-wealth: However the most discerning Men on both Sides saw into the Design,

sign, and from whence the Engine was play'd. 'Tis notorious my Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* was ever averse to that unfortunate Contest with our Neighbours of the same Religion, which afterwards produc'd very bad Effects : And it was so far set a-foot by the *Roman* Catholick Party, that 'twas call'd my Lord *Clifford's* War.

At last the Eyes of the Ministry came to be open'd ; they saw these Differences with *Holland* tended only to weaken the Protestant Interest, and to augment the Power of *France* ; therefore in *January* 1668. the King enter'd into a strict Alliance with the United Provinces , *Charles* XI. of *Sueden* came into the same Treaty ; and this was call'd the Triple League, which was to support the Peace made at *Aix la Chappelle*.

All *Europe* rejoyc'd at it, the *French* excepted ; and if it had been strengthen'd by the Accession of other Princes who desir'd to join in it ; and if it had been as inviolately observ'd as it was wisely contriv'd, the Ballance of Power had not so much inclin'd to the side of *France*. It was so well receiv'd , that for a time the very Name of it in the House of Commons produc'd a Tax.

Such Leagues as that was will never fail to please the People; but they resent it highly from the Ministers when they Advise the Prince to enter into Alliances of which the ill Consequences are plain, and the good ones doubtful, if not impossible; but more especially when they form Treaties that at the first view strike Men pale with Fear and Horror, and afterwards augment their Care for the Publick the more they are consider'd, and which even the most vulgar Capacities can discern to be diametrically opposite to the Nation's Interest, and to the common Rules of Policy. And of this Nature are all the Leagues *England* ever made to assist the Strong against the Weak. Such Measures sour'd the People in the time of King *James* I. His Son felt the bad Effects of that Discontent. The like Measures render'd a great part of King *Charles* II.'s Reign uneasy: And a Belief obtaining that the same Councils would be still follow'd, did contribute to undo his Brother.

About 1671. the Triple League was broken, the Exchequer was shut up, the Design was laid of seizing the *Smyrna* Fleet; and in *March* 1672. War with *Holland* was again Proclaim'd, which we carry'd

carry'd on in conjunction with the *French*; but this War was far from being undertaken by Advice of Parliament. And in 1673. both Lords and Commons advis'd the King to a speedy Treaty with the United Provinces in order to a Peace; which Advice was afterwards persued.

All this while *France* increas'd in Power, Strength and Reputation. 'Tis true the Empire, *Spain* and *Holland*, gave what Opposition they could; but to make the Scale weigh, they wanted *England* in the Ballance; but this did not suit with the Inclinations of the Court.

However about the Year 1677. the Nation began to awaken from that Lethargy in which it had lain so long intranc'd; they whose Ancestors had spilt so much Blood, and expended so much Treasure to keep the Neighbouring Dominions within due and moderate Limits; they whose Fathers had express'd such dreadful Apprehensions at the excessive Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy, sate still while the *French* were erecting a much more formidable Empire. For after the Restoration, the Body of the People were intent upon improving their Land, or accumulating Wealth by Trade.

The Gentry were soften'd into Pleasures by the Example of a young Prince; the Court was drown'd in Luxuries, and plung'd into Corruption of all Kinds; the Martial Temper that had so glitter'd here during the Civil War was extinct in us, and gone to other Countries; the Arms of *France* in the mean time were every where Victorious, whose Power and Fortune the inferior States stoop'd to and courted. There was indeed a Rival, but of more Fame than real Strength; for *Spain* was become weak, and the House of *Austria* was supported by nothing but the *German* Valour. Thus a great part of the World was almost ready to undergo the Yoke; we who alone could give any strong Opposition, did at best but faintly countenance our true Friends, and at last openly assist our certain Enemies. And while these Things were in Transaction, but few saw and none endeavoured to prevent our impending Miseries.

But at last some good Patriots began to rouse themselves, and to exert their Virtues. 'Tis true, in those Days the Fountain-Head was tainted, and the Guardianship of Liberty was in polluted Hands: Pensions, Bribes, Offices, Hope of getting,

ting, and Fear to offend, had in a manner extinguish'd that Publick Spirit, and those Principles of Honour, upon which our Predecessors acted: However in Seventeen Years, tho' they went a great way towards it, they had not been able to procure a Party, who by the Strength of their Numbers could Subvert this Constitution.

For at that time there was a Set of Men whom Profit could not allure, nor Power intimatedate: 'Twas they whose Bold Speeches and Representations drew him from his bad Measures of pursuing the War with *Holland*: 'Twas they who first perceived his fatal Councils to be equally dangerous to Religion and our Liberties: 'Twas they who beheld with Horror *English* Fleets, and *English* Troops helping a Prince who so visibly aspired to the Dominion of all *Europe*: 'Twas they who had the Courage to Attack in Parliament Men of great Power and Figure, whom they thought Authors of those pernicious Advices: 'Twas they who endeavoured to break that Correspondence our Court held then with *France*, so Dishonourable to the King, and so Opposite to the Publick Good: 'Twas they who enquired into the Breach of Advantagious Leagues,

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and who thought the Ministers accountable for entering into Alliances prejudicial to the Realm: 'Twas they who desired to look into Private Treaties, and Secret Articles, which now and then may serve a Princes present Turn, and suit with his own Personal Interest, tho' these Close Transactions have generally tended to enslave the People; of which innumerable Instances might be given. *Lastly*, 'Twas they who by their repeated Addresses Asserted the Right of Parliaments to be consulted in Affairs upon which depended the Welfare or Ruin of the Kingdom: And these Men (such of 'em I mean, as have not since Deserted their Old Principles) will be Reverenced in all Future Ages.

On the 10th of *March* 167th, the Commons being under Apprehensions at the immoderate Growth and Power of *France*, did think themselves obliged to Address to the King, That he would enter into such Alliances, as might be for the security of *England*. To which Address the Lords Concurred. And on the 29th of the same Month, the Commons again Addressed to Him, intimating, That if in pursuance of the former Address, the King should find himself Necessitated to enter into a War, the House would fully Aid His Majesty

jeſty from time to time, and Aſſiſt Him in that War.

On the 26th of *May* 1677, the Commons again Repeated the Fears the Nation lay under, by reaſon of the *French* Power and Greatneſs, and preſs'd the King to enter into a League Offensive and Deſenſive with the United Provinces.

But the ſecret Friends of *France* apprehending, That if *England* went heartily into the War it might turn the Scale, to Ward the Blow, thought it beſt to throw a Bone of Diſcord between the King and His Parliament; perſuading Him, That the Commons had invaded his Prerogative, by meddling in Matters of War and Peace, inſomuch that they prevailed upon Him to ſay in a Speech to Both Houſes, *May* the 28th 1677, That in no Age when the Sword had not been drawn, the Prerogative of making War and Peace had been ſo dangerously Invaded; and in a Heat the Parliament was Adjourned.

When the Parliament Re-aſſembled, the Commons again urged their Fears of *France*, and in a more preſſing manner: And in their Addreſs of the 31ſt of *January* 1677, deſir'd the King not to admit
of

of any Treaty of Peace, whereby the *French* King should be left in the Possession of any larger Dominions and Territories, or of any greater Power than what he retain'd by the *Pyrenean* Treaty, less than which, as they conceived, could not secure this Kingdom, and the rest of *Europe*, from the Growth and Power of the said King; but that he alone might be able to disturb the Peace thereof, whenever he was minded to attempt it.

But to Evade this Address, the Prerogative was again insisted upon in a Message of the 4th of *February* 1677. However, on the 18th of *February*, the House Voted the King a Million to enable Him to enter into an actual War. And on the 15th of *March* 1677, they Addressed to Him immediately to Declare, Proclaim, and enter into an actual War with *France*.

The Court had made an Alliance with *Holland*, but it was not such a one as the Commons thought safe and effectual: Therefore on the 4th of *May* 1678. they came to a Resolution that the League Offensive and Defensive with *Holland*, with the Articles thereunto Relating, were not pursuant to the Address of the House,
nor

nor consistent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom ; and agreed upon an Address, That the King would enter into the Alliances and Confederations then a-foot, between the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States General, for carrying on a War against the *French* King. To this Address a Rough Answer was given upon the 6th of *May* 1678. But the Evasion then thought fit to be made use of was, That Both Houses had not concurr'd in the Advice.

Upon the 10th of the same Month, the Commons agreed upon an Address which press'd an Answer to their last. And upon another Address, wherein they desir'd His Majesty to remove those Counsellors who Advis'd the Answers to their Addresses of the 26th of *May*, and 31st of *January*, or either of them.

This Parliament was Prorogu'd the 15th of *July* 1678. afterwards the Peace of *Nimeguen* was Concluded. But from that Prorogation till His present Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne, we can hardly say *England* enjoy'd one good or quiet Moment. Popery increased, the Power of *France* grew yet more formidable, and the Court every day enter'd in-
to

to Measures more and more Destructive to the Kingdom.

Thus I have briefly shown, That from the Time *Henry* the VII. attempted to relieve the Duke of *Britanny*, which was *Anno* 1488. to the Year 1678. that is, for One hundred and Ninety Years, *England* has all along endeavour'd to hold the Ballance of *Europe*; and that tho' some of our Princes during this Period of Time by the Corruption of their Courts, have been induc'd to favour the Monarchy that seem'd the most aspiring; yet that Parliaments have always bent their utmost Care to provide, That neither *France* nor *Spain* might gain any Ground the one upon the other.

We may go yet farther, and say the Late Revolution, and the War that happen'd upon it, were both carry'd on upon the same Foot of opposing the Growth of the *French* Monarchy; for we suspected a Catholick Prince would favour that Country by whose Power only the Catholick Religion could be introduc'd.

When the Peace of *Ryswick* was Concluded, we had all the Prospect imaginable of making a greater Figure in the World,

World, than we had done in many Ages: All *Europe* was possessed with a high Opinion of the King's Valour and Conduct. He was acknowledg'd to be Head of the Protestant Interest, which brought many Important Dependences upon Him. He Commanded the Two greatest Trading Nations, which gave Him a Naval Strength that no other People were able to Face: Our Troops had given such Proofs of their Courage, as did Renew our Ancient Glory and Renown in Foreign Parts. And by maintaining a War so Long, and so Expensive, we show'd Marks of an unwearied Constancy, and that we had a Spring of Wealth not easily to be Exhausted.

They who saw us with such Appearances of a Robust and Florid Health, could not conceive less Hopes of *England*, than that we should be able for a Time to hold the Ballance, and that the *French* would not be easily induc'd to enter upon Measures that would Clash with the Interests of so fierce a People, and which in past Times had shown themselves so Active in preserving the Liberties of the rest of Human kind, whereupon their own Freedom depended.

It

It was hardly imaginable when they were so sore with the Wounds of the late War, and so Exhausted of Wealth, and so Diminish'd in People, that they should think of making any Steps, which in their Consequences were certain to Arm us and other Nations, and 'twas little expected that they should think it Advisable or Safe to Seize *Flanders*, or to Insult *Holland*.

These are Bolder Councils than they thought fit heretofore to venture upon, when we had an Unactive Prince upon the Throne: What then can have push'd 'em upon this sort of Conduct, when we are Rul'd by a King so famous for his Military Virtues?

Must they not have some Reserves that are not vulgarly known? Must they not believe us involv'd in Difficulties through which they think it impossible to Wade? And must they not conceive our Affairs to have been so perplex'd by a long Series of Mismanagement, that they have no Reason to fear Abler Hands, and Wiser Heads will run the Hazard of coming into the Administration to disturb 'em in their Progress?

If

If they have Fathom'd one Set of Men, and know the Weakness of their Councils, and Folly of their Conduct : If there are others of whose Probity, Skill, and Experience they stand more in Awe ; but if they believe the Age not capable of such a Ministry : If they think the People so Corrupt that they cannot bear it, or the Times so Slippery or Dangerous, that Good Men will not think it safe to meddle in our Business : If they are sensible of all this, as 'tis to be fear'd they are but too well instructed in these Matters, we are not to wonder at the late bold Attempts they have made, since 'tis to be presum'd they thought us not able to give 'em any Opposition ; for they know well enough, that neither the Valour of a Prince, nor the Courage, nor Wealth of the People, can make a Country considerable Abroad, if it be destitute of Council, and if its Affairs at Home are ill Conducted.

Opinion is the principal Support of Power, and States are seldom any longer Strong or Wise, than while they are thought so by their Neighbours ; for all great Things subsist more by Fame, than any real Strength. And after
Charles

Charles the V. the Spaniards for some Years preserved their Empire by nothing more than the Opinion Mankind had conceiv'd of the Depth and Wisdom of their Councils.

But when a Nation gives any visible Mark of ill Conduct, such as rings through the whole World, it draws so many Eyes upon it, as quite look into all its weaker Parts, its Protection is no longer Rely'd upon, and its Alliance is not Courted. Other Countries first Despise, and then venture to Insult it : For Mankind will be always apt to imagine, that where there is no Council, there can be no real Strength.

Such a Taft of our selves 'tis to be fear'd we have given by entring into the Late Partition Treaty : 'Tis to be apprehended our Neighbours can have no Value for a People, who were thus to be over-reach'd. 'Tis true our Arms have been Dreadful in the Field, and our Fleets have been the Terror of the Main. But are they to be fear'd, who after all their Martial Toils could be so easily Defeated in the Cabinet ?

Our

Our Profusion of the Publick Treasure, the Rapacious Temper of some of our Men of Business; our Divisions and the Corruption of our Manners, have indeed all along tended to lessen us in Foreign Parts; but this fatal Alliance gave the last stroke to it: We have thereby lost the Reputation we had of being a Wise and Cautious People (and so we have always approv'd ourselves where the Body of the People has had to do, or has been consulted.) And there are strong Reasons to suspect, That this late Proof we gave of the Weakness of our Councils, has encourag'd the *French* to think us now no dangerous Enemy, and not in a posture to oppose them in the Attempts they are making to disturb the Peace of *Europe*.

To put us in a Condition to hold the Ballance, our Distempers at Home must be first Cur'd: But in order to this, the Sore must be Lanch'd, Prob'd, Search'd, and laid open; and if I do it with a rough Hand, let the Reader consider, I have stubborn and inveterate Diseases to deal with, which will baffle all gentle Remedies, and stand in need of the
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strongest Applications that can be thought on.

War, among other Monsters it ingenders in the Womb of a State, begets and gives Rise to a Set of Buify, Undertaking, Ambitious, Light, and Projecting Persons, who are then brought upon the Stage of Business. These, whom Peace would have left in their Original Obscurity, in troublesome Times shine forth ; but 'tis like Portentous Meteors, threatening Ruin to the Country that is under their Malevolent Aspect ; many such of late Years have crept into the Administration of our Affairs. 'Tis true, the Cries of that People they had so exhausted, did at last make some of them Retire ; but they hope the same Calamities of the Kingdom that first introduc'd them, may render 'em again necessary , not doubting but to make the Commonwealth yield 'em a Second Fleece. These I shall endeavour to describe, with some of the many Attempts they have made upon the Publick. I shall likewise set forth the Circumstances to which they have reduc'd the Nation.

By

By the Profusion of some of those who were lately in the Administration of Affairs, by the impossibility there was of having any frugal Management, when the Men of Business gave the bad Example of diving with their own Hands so frequently into their Prince's Pocket ; By the exorbitant Grants they procur'd for themselves, and obtain'd for others ; By the General Wafts that have been made in the Revenue ; By the Ignorance of the Officers concern'd in Levying and Bringing in its most considerable Branches ; By the scandalous Negligence which has been shown in inspecting and stating the Accompts of the Fleet and Army , in which Two Articles , during the Nine Years of the late War, there was expended upwards of Thirty nine Millions ; In short, by a Complication of all sorts of Fraud and Folly, through the Weakness of some, and Craft of others, things have been so order'd, that we are got into such an immense Debt, as we cannot Wade through in many Years.

They who have been most Instrumental in our Ruin, the Authors of those fatal Councils under which *England* will

Labour for many Years, if it do not quite sink, the Inventors of those pernicious Projects, by which the whole Income of *England* is charg'd with New Duties, the Hands that have distributed those Bribes and Pensions by which so many have been corrupted ; they who have thus long robb'd the Publick ; they who have advis'd the Treaties, Leagues and Alliances , of which we are now going to feel the dismal Effects ; they who hate their Country, because they fear its just Resentments (for Men always hate what they fear ;) they whom nothing but Confusion and Civil War can much longer Save and Protect, are grown so Rich, Powerful and Great, by having for Eight Years together Plunder'd the Commonwealth, and Engross'd all the Places of Profit, that they seem now too big for Punishment. They have so long Exercis'd their Insolence and Tyranny, that many are in Truth aw'd by it : If any present themselves, to promote better Measures, and to give sounder Councils, they fright 'em with their over-bearing Temper, so that good Men are shy of entering into the Lists with them, as being unwilling to make use of the same foul Arts by which the others did first get, and have since

since maintain'd their Power. This pernicious, but indeed well-united Band, from time to time deceive the Vulgar with gross Lies, and Poyson not a few even of the better sort, with Whispers and false Suggestions, giving wrong Characters of those who so strenuously asserted the Liberties of *England* in the last House of Commons, and insinuating as if those Patriots who desir'd to Disband a numerous Army, aim'd at weakning the King; whom, on the contrary, they have made stronger, by being now Guarded by the Affections of his People. By their having so long held the Purse, and by their having had for Eight Years the disposal of beneficial Offices, and by their having engag'd so many in their Projects, they have procur'd a formidable Party; and tho' they neither can, nor ever intend to do any good, they are able to work much harm, being a constant Let, and an intolerable Weight upon any who shall offer to mend Things: But which is worse, by their new acquir'd Wealth, they have been in a condition, as we have lately experienc'd, to bid fairly for a large share of the Legislative Authority, thinking it wiser, and safer for them, to buy Burroughs, than to purchase Land. And 'tis to be

apprehended, not a few of 'em have succeeded in this Enterprize. Such among 'em as think one House too hot for 'em, to be safe from Enquires, will without doubt endeavour to Skreen and Shelter themselves, under the Privileges of another Place, so as they can be hardly come at. Add to this, That they had in a manner Besieg'd the Throne by their Creatures and Dependants; so that the Passage is almost barr'd to those who have Courage and Sincerity enough to expose not only the constant Weakness, but certain Danger of all their Measures. Thus they remain intrench'd in all the strong Posts of Power, bidding open Defiance to the Laws, undermining our Constitution, and strengthening one another against the Publick; but 'tis to be hoped, they are not yet quite grown above the reach of Parliaments.

As to Religion: 'Tis notorious that many of those lately in Play have us'd their utmost Endeavours to discountenance all Reveal'd Religion. They were more enraged at the Church-Party for believing in the Apostles Creed, than for the Tory Principles some of 'em had advanc'd. Nothing but the Subversion
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of all Divine Worship could make way for that Immorality which they intended to put in Practice; all sort of Divines forbid the Arts and Ways by which they purpos'd to thrive; they were therefore to unsettle Men in their Opinions about Religious Matters, by which they hoped to prepare the Minds, especially of the Vulgar, to have different Thoughts of Vice and Virtue than what they had heretofore entertain'd; which if they could have compass'd, they did not doubt to be well esteem'd of, as being the Reverse of what honest and virtuous Men ought to be, and acting quite opposite to what all Religions have enjoin'd. They would have been safe indeed, and it would cover all their Crimes, if nothing could be thought Foul, Treacherous or Dishonest, by which a Man was to reap Advantage; and if the People could have been once brought to think every thing Good which they saw to prosper. Upon these Grounds they have done their utmost to turn all Religion to a Jest. Do not we all know, that in the midst of their prophane Mirth, a modest Christian durst hardly put in a Word in favour of the Second Person of the Trinity, without exposing himself to Laughter? To hear 'em Talk sometimes,

one would imagine they believed a true Christian could not be a Friend to the Government. Good God! what a strange mixture of Men have we lately seen upon the Stage? Irreligious Phanaticks and Arbitrary Republicans! Are not a great many of us able to point out to several Persons, whom nothing has recommended to Places of the highest Trust, and often to rich Benefices and Dignities, but the open Enmity which they have almost from their Cradles professed to the Divinity of Christ?

All *Europe* has its Eyes upon *England*, which is so little able to help others, that it self is in danger of Ruin. But some perhaps may say, What has a private Man to do with all this? To such may be answer'd, That in Free Countries, particular Men may be allow'd to look into what relates to the common Safety: 'Tis true, the Pilots to whom the Vessel is trusted, are not to be disturb'd on every light Occasion; but if they are apparently running it upon a Rock, a private Passenger, who is to sink with it, may be permitted to give Notice of the Danger, for it is no more than Self-Preservation, which is one of those Natural Rights where

whereof (in the Original Compact for Government) we neither did nor could divest our selves.

Heretofore indeed, when Arbitrary Princes sat upon the Throne, they thought themselves bound, tho' with the hazard of their own Ruin, to justify the Ministers in the worst of their Measures. To look into the increase of Popery was call'd a Crime, and to be afraid of the Growth of *France* was to arraign the Government: Men were not to speak, nay not to think, but as those above would have 'em; Penetration was stil'd Malice; there was no Honesty but blind Obedience; and *Follow your Leader* was every where the Word of Command. But we have spent upwards of Fifty Millions to little purpose, if we are to wear these Badges of Slavery any longer.

And yet in those Times, Things done amiss escaped not Censure: A free-born People could not see their Destruction coming on without complaining; such as lov'd their Country, exerted themselves both in their publick and private Capacities: Men did Speak and Write, and were not over-aw'd either by the Power
or

or Character of those whom they believ'd to mislead their Prince. When Ministers of State are known to govern well in the Main, and to intend the common Welfare, they are belov'd and respected; their Slips and flighter Errors are forgiven, no Body looks into their Actions, all passes for current, and 'tis Vanity at such a time to think of growing Popular by finding Fault. But this Respect which People, by long Custom, pay to those in Power, may be forfeited; and in Practise we have heretofore seen, that false Step after false Step has render'd 'em contemptible; it being certain that by a long Course of Male-Administration, they will come to lose the Reverence that is due to 'em: For were it not for the good Order of Nature in its Operations, were it not for the Benefits Providence daily show's upon us; and were it not for the Wisdom it shows in our Preservation, Mankind would less Revere the Deity it self. Could they then, to whom the Ministerial part of Government was committed, expect to have all their Actions and Councils held as Sacred and not to be examined, when every Minute they were bringing inextricable Confusion upon us, when they took no Care for our Protection, and
when

when all their Measures tended to subject us to a Foreign Yoke.

What is Good and Right in it self will endure any sort of Scrutiny: Bad Times and weak Governments only cannot bear Inquiry. When a Council is found and for the publick Good, bring it to the Test it receives a general Approbation, and they who find Fault only expose themselves: But if it visibly thwarts the National Interest; if it looks so partial, as that nothing could produce it but Corruption in the Ministers; and if it carries with it apparent Dangers, 'tis fit it should be laid open: Private Persons should expose it with what Talents they have, they should do their best to inform and awaken the People, whose Cries are certain at last to reach the Prince's Ear.

If a private Person sees the Men of Business have entred into Measures destructive to the Protestant Interest throughout all *Europe*; if he perceives that a desperate Faction of baffled and branded Statesmen (in order perhaps to preserve their own Power by the Countenance of a Foreign Court) have form'd Leagues which

which in their Consequences may probably reduce the whole World under the Dominion of one Kingdom. If a private Person should be sensible of all this, do not his Honour, the Love to his Country, and Duty to his Prince, call upon him to Act, Speak or Write, what he thinks may be for the publick Service? And if he has any Courage, free Spirit or Understanding, will he not upon such Occasions find within himself Impulses that are not to be resisted?

The Writer of these Papers designs being of no Party whom he shall not see apparently to espouse the true Interest of *England*, to promote which all his Care and Study shall be bent; nor does any Motive lead him to offer his Thoughts to the Publick concerning our present Affairs, but the apparent Dangers with which he thinks the Kingdom threaten'd in this unhappy Conjunction.

Storms look black upon us from abroad, bad Men at home have endeavoured to undermine our Constitution, and 'tis to be fear'd that there are but too many in this Nation who to have Power would give up Liberty; against such these Papers

pers are directed, under what Banner soever they may pretend to be Lifted : And as far forth as his Reading and Knowledge reach his purpose, shall ever be to set the old Constitution of this Realm in its true Light. 'Tis true, he foresees plainly enough he shall draw upon himself Anger from the Servile and Assenting Crew, by handling his Subject with the honest Freedom that becomes an *English* Man ; but as his good Intentions, Innocence and Integrity, have hitherto born him out, so he hopes they will continue to protect him.

To begin with what comes most in our present View : The very Foundations of our Liberties have been struck at, by the Audacious Attempts that some Persons have lately made to Bribe and Corrupt the Buroughs, in their Election of Members for this Parliament.

'Tis said, Several Persons, utter Strangers in the Countries to which they went, have made a Progress throughout *England*, endeavouring by very large Sums of Mony, to get themselves Elected in this present Parliament.

'Tis

'Tis said, There are known Brokers who have try'd to Stock-Job Elections upon the *Exchange*; and that for many Burroughs there was a stated Price.

'Tis said, Some have Travell'd, as the *Tartars* do in Hoards, with their whole Family, their Sons, Packers, Brokers, Book-keepers, and other Officers that make up the Equipage of a Wealthy Merchant, all in hopes to be Elected through the powerful Recommendation of ready Mony.

For many Years Attempts have been made to Corrupt here and there a Burrough, but the Cry was never so Universal as at this time; it comes now from the East, West, North, and South.

Some Persons having considerable Stocks in the Bank of *England* and in the New *East-India* Company, are more particularly charged with these Facts. 'Tis to be hoped neither of these Societies, as they are a Body, have promoted or countenanced these Proceedings; for if this should appear, they have drawn upon themselves the Kingdoms utmost Indignation.

Let

Let all these sort of Societies whatsoever beware of intermedling or pretending to Influence in Elections: Let the Bank and New Company at no time give visible Proofs that they unite their Interest and Strength against the Constitution and Liberties of *England*. Let them take especial Care that what *Jacob* pronounced concerning two of his Sons, be not said of them. *Simeon and Levi are Brethren: Instruments of Cruelty are in their Habitations. O my Soul come not thou into their Secret; unto their Assembly, mine Honour, be not thou united: For in their Anger they slew a Man, and in their Self-will they digged down a Wall. Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce; and their Wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.*

'Tis to be hoped, the heavy Displeasure these two Bodies of Men may have conceived, to see some of their Friends and Patrons not in the same Post of Power to help and favour them as heretofore, will never create in 'em such angry Thoughts as may push 'em upon Measures so destructive to their Native Country; for they will soon be divided in *Jacob,*

cob, and scatter'd in *Israel*: That is, they will be pull'd to pieces in Parliament, if they should at any time grow so angry as to think of digging down the Wall of our Constitution.

If any of the Things which are now so loudly talk'd of be made appear, 'tis to be hoped the Legislative Authority will take Care that the formidable Strength of above Four Millions may not hurt *England*; and that Persons united in Interest and Councils may not have it in their Power to supplant the Landed Men in their own Burroughs; for if so, our Constitution will be quite alter'd, and we shall no longer be truly Represented; for the right Strength of this Kingdom depends upon the Land, which is infinitely Superior and ought much more to be regarded than our Concerns in Trade, or the new Wealth which we think we have acquired in Stocks and Tallies.

But 'tis to be fear'd that they who never had any other Thoughts than to grow Great and Rich at our Expence, (I mean the Inventers and Promoters of these Projects) did with design form these new Strengths, to fortify themselves against
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the Landed Interest, which they knew they had so justly provoked by the heavy Taxes they had rais'd, and consumed to so little Advantage to the Publick; having, with above Forty Millions levied upon the People during their Administration, done no more than procure a Peace, which already seems in danger to be invaded.

Which way soever we look we can see nothing but Calamities and Ruin, and all occasion'd by the pernicious Councils and weak Management of those, who, of late Years have obtruded their unskilful Heads into the Administration of our Business.

What Good have they ever done but for themselves and one another? At a time when a good Union would be of such high Importance, in order to oppose Foreign Designs, are we not all run into Heats by their Projects? Has not their erecting a New *East-India* Company introduced fresh Divisions, and form'd Parties, hardly to be reconciled, whose mutual Strivings are come to a Pitch, that may at last disturb the Quiet of the State? For from much less Beginnings

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fatal Quarrels have arose in other Countries.

The only Matter that with any shew of Reason they can value themselves upon is the Alteration of the Coin, which at best was but a fortunate Temerity. It had been much safer to have done it when the War was concluded. Those Councils can never be rightly applauded which nothing but Success can justify. 'Twas a desperate Step from which there was no retreating if any Disaster had happen'd, or if *France* had not for certain Reasons (which they who chang'd the Coin will not dare to own, they knew) been so desirous of a Peace.

The Paper-Credit, which with such Encomiums to themselves they boast to have set up, what Effects has it produc'd but only to lull the Nation asleep, while the Ready Mony that should even carry on our common Business has been exported? 'Tis an Opiate that quiets the Patient for a time, but is no Cure for the Disease their ill Conduct has brought upon us. Can this imaginary Wealth stand the Shock of any sudden Calamity? Is it not by Experience found a rotten Building, which

which the least Storm from abroad is ready to throw down? And what has it all along done, but minister Opportunities, by Discompts and other ways, for the Rich to oppress the Poor? If it did any Good in time of Peace, which is hard to prove, 'tis more than over-balanced by the Confusion it introduces when there is any prospect of Trouble; but if, as was once solemnly propos'd, 1,700,000 *l.* of this Chimerical Treasure had been stamp'd, besides 1,300,000 *l.* that was then in being, what had our Condition been with such a Debt upon us, all due and payable at an Instant? If the King of *Spain's* Death, the seizing of the Towns in *Flanders*, besides what else we are to expect, had overtaken us with such a Load upon our Backs, what would have become of publick Credit? Would not so great a Sum, trusted upon slender Security, have occasion'd a sudden Call all at once for Mony? The Circulators (of which by the way some would not have prov'd over solvent) could have afforded their Friend and Patron but little Support at such a Pinch; Sums would have been ask'd for, which no Society of Men had been able to pay, and the State must have been compell'd to declare it self a Bankrupt.

'Tis true these Authors of our Misfortunes, some of 'em at least, did at length think it decent to Retreat ; but let us see in what Posture they left Affairs, when they pretended to quit the Stage of Business.

When they retired, loaden with the Spoils they had made upon the Publick, they left us divided among one another, chiefly through their Arts, exhausted of our Treasure, and overwhelm'd with Debts.

But before they went, they engaged us in a League with *France* and *Holland*, which they knew well enough must bring Difficulties almost insuperable upon any future Ministry.

They could not but foresee that the prodigious increase of Power and Strength which the Partition Treaty, had it taken Effect, gave to the *French*, would to the last degree have alarmed all the thinking-men of *England*.

Did not *Naples*, and the influence they would have had upon *Milan*, intirely sub-

subject *Italy* to their Dominion? If with the Ports they have already on the Southern Coast of *France*, they had likewise had *Sicily*, had they not been Masters of the *Levant-Trade*? And was not the Province of *Guipuscoa* a Hook in the very Throat of *Spain*? Had they not by this Triple League in one Instant more Cities, People, and Kingdoms, than probably they could have obtain'd by the Sword attended still with Victory in the Course of a hundred Years?

But the Emperor did not acquiesce in it; *Portugal* temporis'd, but would possibly have declar'd against it, if any strong Alliance had been form'd; The Conclave began to tremble; *Venice* did not think it self safe; and all the Princes and States of *Italy* began to find it high time to enter into Alliances for their common Preservation.

Of all this, War must have been the Consequence. We may therefore imagine some certain Persons Arguing thus among one another, while this secret League was in Embrio. No New Set of Men can be found that will venture to ask Mony of a Parliament to support it. Who of For-

tune, Parts, or Figure will come in upon the Terms of justifying such a Measure? But we who Advise it will maintain it. And we have given Eight Years Proof that there are no Lengths we are not willing to go ; we make no difference between Land Armies and Fleets, 'tis known, we care not what Taxes are rais'd, nor by what ways and means ; if we can involve our Master in this difficulty, we secure our selves for ever, the Field is our own, and no others will dare to take in hand the Administration of Affairs. And upon these or the like Considerations, 'tis to be presum'd, they advis'd the Partition Treaty.

But a Storm which they had twice before appeas'd, did at the latter end of a Sessions blow again so hard, that it threw down all this fine Projection, they were forc'd to quit. However as soon as their Treaty was made publick, they cry'd it up among that obsequious Herd, whom they had long accusom'd to applaud whatever came from them ; these they persuaded to approve of a Council that did so plainly put an aspiring Monarchy into a better posture both at Sea and Land, to enslave *Europe* than it was before the War.

War. They themselves immediately became of a Foreign Faction which they had so much before exploded. They whose Principle it had heretofore been, That Parliaments had a Right to enquire into Leagues and Alliances, and to be consulted in Matters which had Relation to War and Peace, came presently to give up that Essential Point, and to have nothing in their Mouths but the Prerogative. They who had ever valued themselves upon being the best Patriots, and who had so eagerly promoted the giving upwards of Fifty Millions, were no longer solicitous to behold some Fruit from the Expence of such a Treasure; tho' 'twas apparent all was thrown away, and that what remain'd to us of Wealth or Trade, would be but in a precarious Condition, if *France* was to have so considerable an Accession to its Dominions in virtue of this Treaty. The old Enemies of that Kingdom became of a sudden its warmest Friends. They grew more familiar with that Power which was once so dreadful to 'em, and the side heretofore suspected took up that publick Zeal which the others had let drop as an unnecessary weight upon those who would make a high and quick Flight to Honours and Preferments.

ferments. They who had been said to favour *France*, only because they did not like the destructive manner of carrying on the War by a great Land Army, and a small Fleet, shew'd most concern to see that Kingdom render'd greater by a Treaty, than the Sword perhaps could have made it in some Ages, while they who formerly could not sleep for dread of its Power, were ready with palliating Excuses to quiet the Apprehensions of other Men.

This was the Posture of Affairs, when News came that the *French* King had accepted of the King of *Spain's* Last Will, which settled the Succession upon the Duke of *Anjou*. But then in a moment the Persons I have been speaking of gave their Discourses quite another Turn: *France* was again formidable, that Court was without Faith or Honour, and the most bitter and indecent Expressions were made use of; but our late Men of business were not in this much to be blam'd, for they had reason to be exceeding angry with those by whom they had been so plainly over-reach'd.

But according to their wonted Custom of blaming the Throne for what fell out amiss,

amiss, and of arrogating to themselves the Praise of any successful Council, peradventure they will say they did not advise Partition Treaty.

But when ill Measures are taken, who have *English* Men to accuse, but those who were in the Administration of Affairs? Does our Constitution allow us to look any further than upon the Ministerial part of Government, who only can be accountable for what is done amiss? By our Laws the Crown defends none but the sacred Heads that wear it. No Man in this Country can plead Superior Command, Obedience to the Prince, Directions or Orders in any Function of his Office, by which the State is prejudiced.

We can look upon none but those who sat in Council, and were in the Cabinet while these Matters were transacted. 'Tis they should satisfy for the Reputation we have lost by having been so shamefully made the Tools by which the *French* Ministers have wrought their Ends.

If any Mischief happens to *Europe*, 'tis they must answer for it, who were the Authors of this Council. But still they will

will urge we knew nothing of it ; It was agitated without our Participation. But thus to justify themselves is worse than if they acknowledg'd their Misdemeanor. Would they be in the principal Offices of the State, and suffer things of the highest Nature, and greatest Consequence, to be Transacted without their Privy ? Let 'em give an Instance of any whole Set of Ministers that ever submitted to such Usage. No Examples of it can be given in the History of any Nation. What participate in the danger, and by the Laws to be accountable, and yet not to be made acquainted with what was doing ? 'Tis absurd to imagine, That Men could serve upon such Terms ; No, we ought rather to believe they were the first Devisers and Prompters of this fatal Council ; suggesting that the People would approve of it, and that they could procure a Majority to give into it. For who can more reasonably be thought the Authors of an Advice, than they to whom the Advantage of it is to redound ? Did not this Treaty make *England* a strict Ally with *France*, which is the best Crop, and most profitable Game that corrupt Statesmen could possibly wish for. Besides it made an unjustifiable War necessary, which
made

made way for fresh Taxes, of which they hop'd to have again the handling, and gave room for new Projects which were their Province. Such a War made Men useful that were ready to do any thing, and to embrace any desperate Measures, and brought them again into play. In short, it introduc'd that Confusion by which they were wont to thrive and prosper.

There is not the least Ground to imagine this Matter could have any Spring but in themselves: Let 'em not therefore (as they have tried in other Instances) endeavour to throw the blame upon their Master, whose Wisdom and deep reach is sufficient to Fathom all things but the depth of their Malice and Corruption: Noble Natures are most liable to be injured, because they are not apt to entertain Suspicion, especially of those whom they have loaded with their Favours; nor can a good Man readily conceive there is such a Species in the World as a Treacherous or an Ungrateful Person. We all know he had no part in this Treaty, but as he trusted in their false Representations of Affairs both Abroad and at Home. They told him no doubt that the People
here

here would incline to it, that the Emperor in the Conclusion would not much dislike his share ; and that the *Spaniards* must at last acquiesce in it. But what as we may guess prevailed most was, he could not suspect in any other Prince that Insincerity and evil Faith which could never enter into his Heroick Heart. Tho' a War was sure to afford matter for his Glory, he thought it not so desirable at a time when the Publick was so oppress'd with Debts ; and as good Princes have ever done, he consulted his Peoples Welfare even before his own Fame, hoping by this League to have settled that Peace which his Valour had procured for *Europe*.

But so false were their Representations, that the Treaty was no sooner divulg'd, but all Mankind here express'd their Aversion to it. It had not a single Advocate in *England*, except those who were suspected to be its Contrivers, and a few of their Partakers. It struck Men with Horror to think of *English* Fleets, and *English* Armies to be employ'd to add Provinces and Kingdoms to the Crown of *France*.

There

There was not a Man so little vers'd in Affairs, that did not plainly foresee, *Spain* would suffer any extremity rather than permit their Monarchy to be dismember'd Every one foresaw the *Grandeess* would never forego so many Rich and Noble Governments, of which they were to lose the Hopes, if the Treaty took Effect. Those of *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Sicily*, were to be lost forthwith : And their Crown robb'd of such Jewels could not have long preserv'd the Governments of *Flanders*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*. Could any reasonable Man believe that an Ambitious, Expensive, and Indebted Nobility, would consent to be divested of Posts that yield such immense Revenues? The contrary was visible to all the World, and 'twas plain they would pursue the Measures which afterwards they took.

But nothing surpriz'd thinking-men more than to find our Statesmen had inserted no Article to explain what the King of *France* should do in case the Crown of *Spain* were bequeath'd to any of his Grandsons.

'Twas

'Twas notorious to all *Europe*, that Monsieur *de Harcourt* had Negotiated this Affair at *Madrid* for above Two Years, insisting by very strong and urgent Memorials, that one of the *Dauphin's* Children should be declared Successor in some solemn manner : And they who are ever so little conversant in the Histories of *Spain*, know that the Kings of that Realm have for some Ages pretended a Right to dispose of that Crown by their Last Will and Testament. How well grounded their Claim may be to this Power I shall not argue here, but of what I have laid down many Instances may be produc'd : Others there are, but at present they occur not to my Memory. *D Pelaio* their first King, after their Invasion by the *Moors* bequeath'd the Crown of *Oviedo* to his Daughter *Ormisinda*, and her Husband *D Alphonso*, in Case his Son *Favela* died without Issue, which happen'd, and the Will took place. This was about the Year 737. About the Year 813, *D Alphonso II.* would have bequeath'd the Realm of *Oviedo* to *Charlemagn* ; but his Earls and great Men oppos'd the Succession of a Stranger. About the Year 1152. *Alphonso* stil'd the Emperor, divided his Dominions by his Last
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Testament, between his Two Sons, *Sancho*, and *Ferdinand*. In the Year 1283. *D Alphonso XI.* in hatred to his Rebellious Son *D Sancho*, bequeath'd his Crown to his Grand Children of the House of *Dela Cerda* the true Heirs ; and in Default of their Issue to *Philip* of *France* , and his Descendants ; but this Will did not take Effect. About the Year 1405. *D Henry* the Bastard, who had Usurp'd from *D Pedro* the Cruel, dispos'd of the Crown to his Son *D John*, and afterwards in Default of this Issue to his Daughter *Catherine*. This has been done likewise in *Arragon* ; for in the Year 1416, King *Ferdinand* by his Last Testament bequeath'd the Kingdom first to his Son *D Alphonso*, and his Issue, for want of which to the Brothers of *Alphonso* ; and if these fail'd, he substituted the Children of his Daughters, but excluded the Mothers. About the Year 1479, King *John* of *Arragon* by his Will left the Crown of *Arragon* to his Son *D Ferdinand*, and the Crown of *Navar* to his Daughter *Leonora*, Widow to the Earl of *Foix*. The Kings of *Spain* have also pretended to a power to direct by their Last Will, how, and by whom their Kingdoms should be govern'd after their Decease. Thus about the year
1516.

1516. King *Ferdinand* bequeathed the Government of *Arragon* and *Sicily* to *Alphonso* his Bastard-Son Archbishop of *Saragossa*, and to Cardinal *Ximines* the Administration of *Castile*. And in our Days *Philip IV.* by his last Testament intail'd the Crown upon his own Issue-Male ; and in Case they fail'd, he bequeath'd it to the *Infanta Margarita* his Daughter and her Issue ; if she had none, it was to go to the Children of *Donna Maria* the Empress his Sister, at that time deceased. To these, in Case they had no Issue, he substituted *Donna Catherina* his Aunt, Dutchess of *Savoy*, and the Children descending from her, excluding for ever his Daughter *Theresa* the late Queen of *France*, and the Issue she should have by that King, from the Succession. And in one Article of this Will he mentions that of *Philip III.* his Father, by which the Queen of *France* was likewise excluded, saying, It stood always as a Law establish'd between both Crowns. And in a Clause of his own Testament, he says, It shall be observ'd as a Law establish'd, and as if it had been Approv'd and Ratified by the *Cortes* or States-General of the Kingdom.

'Tis

'Tis true, this Doctrin that Kings should have such a Power to dispose of their Realms, may sound strangely in other Countries; nor has it always pass'd in *Spain* for Law, but the Instances I have Noted were sufficient to justify Cardinal *Portocarero*, and those of his Faction, in what they did. And when they saw themselves threaten'd with a League powerful enough to force any Conditions upon 'em, when they Contemplated the Fears that had seized all the Princes and States of *Italy*, who they were sure would joyn with them to embrace any Measures, rather than see *Naples* and *Sicily* annex'd to, and *Milan* under the Influence of *France*; when they consider'd how poor a Figure they should make in the World thus Dismantled and Dismember'd, could less be expected from 'em, than that they should have Recourse to what had been their former Practice?

But to come more closely to the Point, is it not apparent, that while this Matter was in Agitation, nothing was more Discours'd of both here and in all Foreign Courts, than that the King of *Spain* would bequeath his Realms either to the Arch-
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duke of *Austria*, or to one of the *Dauphin's* Children. And if they who advis'd this Treaty thought it would best Maintain the Peace of *Europe*, and most Conduce to preserve the Ballance of Power, Why did they not by some exprefs Article stipulate that the King of *France* should stick to the Alliance, and Renounce all Pretensions he or his Family had or might have, even tho' the Crown of *Spain* should be left to one of his Grand-children by that infirm Prince, who was known to be in Hands that could turn and wind him as they pleas'd? Had not this been a necessary Caution? Would it not have given some better consistency to the League? Would it not have left the *French* less excusable in case they broke it? But as the Treaty is couch'd and worded, the King of *France* is plainly left to his Alternative, and to the Choice of what he should like best, either to annex new Provinces and Kingdoms to his own Crown, or to fix the Scepter of *Spain* in the House of *Bourbon*.

And since we can hardly think him so weak as to be sway'd by any Paternal Fondness, but rather in all his Actions to consult his Greatness, we may conclude he
be-

believ'd, That to accept of the Will would most tend to encrease the Strength and Power of *France* : And tho' one of the Heroes of Antiquity would hardly have resorted to such a Subterfuge or Excuse for breaking a League so solemnly made ; yet by the Negligence or Ignorance of those who manag'd this Affair, there is some colour for him to alledge, That this Will had alter'd the Case, and introduc'd new Matters that were not comprehended within the Conditions of the Treaty : Therefore our Men of Business should have provided against all possible Cavils, this chiefly which was so obvious ; What will you agree to in case the King of *Spain's* Last Testament be in your Favour ? Shall the League nevertheless remain in Force ? Without doubt our Statesmen should have inserted all the binding Clauses that could have been devis'd, considering that in every *French* Minister they had a *Proteus* to deal with.

But which way soever we Contemplate our Affairs, how they would have stood in case the League had taken Effect, or what is like to happen now there is this close Conjunction between the Powers of *France* and *Spain*, which by several Trea-

ties between these Two Kingdoms : And in the Last Testament of *Philip* III. and *Philip* IV. in exprefs Words is declar'd fo dangerous to all *Europe*. The Treaty gave the *French* too much, and the Will may in time enable 'em to feize the whole. Let us take our View either way, it affords fuch a Prospect as ought to raife the utmoft Confternation in every *English* Heart.

But they who had the Adminiftration of our Bufinefs, will perhaps fay, How was all this to be avoided ? These were Foreign Tranfactions which lay not in us to hinder. As to the Treaty, we faw the whole was in danger, and were defirous to pre-ferve a Part. If, as we intended, *Spain*, the *Netherlands*, and the *Indies* had been left to a Branch of the House of *Austria*, it had been a Foundation of Strength for fuch Princes and States to joyn with, as were willing and able to hold the Ballance ; But can we help it if Nations will not maintain the Faith of Publick Treaties ? And as to the Will, was it in our Power to keep the Court of *Spain* from entring upon a Council dangerous, indeed in its Confequences, to the Trade and Safety fo this Kingdom ?

To

To which may be very well Answered,
That all this had been avoided by consulting with a Parliament, which in all likelihood could have given a Turn to these Foreign Transactions more tending to the general good of *Europe*.

A Treaty thus privately carry'd on, was never like to take Effect ; for the People of *England* have never shown themselves willing to engage in a War, concerning which they have not been previously consulted ; it was therefore reasonable to advise with those at whose Expence 'twas to be carry'd on. However, if they have done so, and if what they had offer'd had been clos'd with, they stood justified whatever the Event had prov'd,

But if this Overture from *France* (for from thence I hope it came) had been laid before a Parliament ; if it had been open'd that *France* stood upon these Terms, expected more, and would not be content with less, we had at least been acquainted with our Danger, which was one step towards being in a condition to prevent it.

But in all probability a Parliament, ever jealous of any Accession to the *French Power*, would have rejected the Proposal of such a League; from whence naturally would have follow'd Addresses for stricter Alliances with the House of *Austria*, Votes to support its Interests, Preparations to oppose any Attempts of *France* upon *Spain*, Embassies to *Madrid*, whereby our Friends would have been kept in Heart, and the Opposite Designs might have been a little more discover'd.

All this would have cheer'd the Princes and States of *Italy*; it would have reviv'd the *Germans*, and might peradventure have so discourag'd the *French* Faction in the Court of *Spain*, and so hearten'd such *Spaniards* as continued good Patriots, that this Will had not been obtruded upon them, which very probably may end in subjecting their Kingdom to a Foreign Yoke.

Thus our late Men of Business might have hindred these Foreign Transactions, or at least they might have render'd 'em of less dangerous Consequence to *England*, if they had thought fit to consult the
Par-

Parliament, then actually Sitting, in a Matter of that Importance, as was this Treaty with *France* and *Holland* to divide the *Spanish* Monarchy.

But to sum up their ill Conduct: Their Corruptions make 'em love dark and secret Councils: This put 'em upon entering into such a Treaty without Advice of Parliament: The Treaty beyond Dispute occasion'd the Will, and we have reason to fear the Will may produce these sad Effects; that is to say, it has set up such a formidable Power, as may in no long Tract of Time bring this side of the World under one Superstition, and subject the best part of Mankind to the Tyranny of one single Person.

After the Peace of *Ryswick*, and after the Death of the Young Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*; if instead of forming this League, vigorous Applications had been made to the Court of *Spain* from *England*, the inbred Aversion which the *Spaniards* have always express'd against *France*, would in all likelihood have produc'd a Declaration in favour of the Archduke of *Austria*, which was the only true Expedient to keep the Two Great Monarchies from be-

ing united, and to secure the Peace of *Europe*.

But our late unfortunate Statesmen, by the Weakness (to say no worse) of their Councils, have so order'd Matters, that those Dangers are not now remote, at which *England* was alarm'd even in the Reign of *Henry VII.* which his Son *Henry VIII.* endeavoured, at a great Expence of Treasure, to prevent; which Queen *Elizabeth* by her Wisdom actually kept at a distance; which in the Reign of King *James I.* so awaken'd the Parliament; which made us so uneasy in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and which to keep off, we have since the Revolution expended so many Millions.

All good *Englishmen* ought seriously to consider this Reflexion which *Machiavel* makes, "That when a Prince or Commonwealth arrives at that height of Reputation, that no Neighbour-Prince or People dares venture to Invade him (unless compell'd by indispensable Necessity) he may do what he pleases: 'Tis in his Election with whom he will make War, and with whom he will be at Peace; for his Neighbours being afraid of his Power, are all glad to be his Friends;

“ Friends ; and those Potentates who are
“ furthest off, and have no Commerce
“ with him, look on as unconcern’d, as
“ if the Consequence could have no rela-
“ tion to them ; and in this Error they
“ many times continue till the Calamities
“ are brought Home to their own Doors ;
“ and then ’tis too late, for they have no-
“ thing but their own private Force to
“ oppose, which is too weak when the
“ Enemy is grown so strong.

In all probability the *French* are now arriv’d to this formidable Pitch of Greatness, unless the *Spaniards* show more Courage and Conduct than has appear’d in any Measures they have taken for these last hundred Years. ’Tis true, if they can so prevail as to make their Young Prince become a good *Spaniard* ; if they can divide him from *French* Councils ; if they can once bring him but to think that he is King of *Spain*, and no longer a Cadet of the House of *Bourbon* ; if he can be induc’d to espouse the true Interest of those who are now become his People ; if the quiet Reception he is like to find make *French* Councils, and *French* Supports no longer necessary to him ; if he can be brought to perform the Duty of his high
Office

Office in all its Parts, those Fears will be somewhat allay'd which we now labour under. We may yet go further, and say, That he gives promising hopes of his Person, and that a Martial Young Prince, if he be Endow'd with any share of his Grandfathers Conduct and Wisdom, may restore the Affairs of that declining Kingdom, and put *Spain* in a better condition than it has lately been to oppose *France* in any Attempts it may hereafter make upon the Liberties of *Europe*.

But the contrary of all this is rather to be apprehended: 'Tis to be fear'd *Spain* it self is utterly corrupted, that the Great Men among 'em will be tempted by Honours, Preferments, and Pensions, to give up the Interests of their Native Country: That the Grandees will find their Accompt better in preserving a strict Correspondence betwixt the Two Crowns, than in keeping them at that distance, which would be safe for the rest of *Christendom*; for the Creatures of a Court always get more when bad Things are in Transaction, than when good and honest Councils are pursued. 'Tis likewise to be fear'd, That the Emperor will so far assert his Pretensions, at least in *Italy*, that *Spain* for a time will stand

stand in need of Aids from *France*, which will make that Union between the Two Kingdoms, so frightful to us, for some time in a manner unavoidable.

'Tis true, this may be interrupted by Future Accidents, and Time produces Remedies which present Wisdom cannot think of; but that which most Alarms those who have any care for the Publick, is, That this Entail of the Crown of *Spain* upon the House of *Bourbon*, may actually bring both Scepters into one Hand; for if the Duke of *Burgundy* should die Childless, Is any Man so weak as to believe the Young King of *Spain* will quit his Pretensions to that Crown, to his Brother the Duke of *Berry*? No, whoever seriously reflects upon it, cannot imagine the *French* Councils did forego the Advantages they might have reap'd from the Treaty of Partition, upon any other Terms than the Prospect which lay so fairly before 'em, that the Death of any of these Young Princes without Issue, would annex *Spain* to the Crown of *France*, and so form that Great and perhaps Universal Empire to which they have so long aspired.

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This Fear may indeed be remov'd if the Duke of *Burgundy* should have Issue-Male. But the Dangers with which we are threaten'd are certainly such as ought to put a prudent State upon its Guard : The young King of *Spain* may take Measures for the Good of *Europe*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, by a numerous Offspring, may keep the two Crowns still divided, and Fortune may relieve those whom Wisdom has forsaken ; but still this League for the Partition so darkly enter'd into, will render all the parts of Government very difficult for the future.

For what Jealousies are not justifiable during the intermediate time ? What *English* Man can bear to see *Flanders* in *French* Hands ? And what Mischiefs to our Trade may not be expected from their being in a manner Masters of the Ports of *Italy* and *Spain* ? So that our Dangers are at Hand and in view , while the Remedies to be propos'd are distant and uncertain.

Have not then our late Men of Business brought Difficulties almost insuperable upon any future Ministry ? And have they not so order'd it, that Peace
will

will bring a lingring but incurable Disease upon us ; and that except Fame, we can reap little from a War but the Perils and Losses with which 'tis like to be attended ? Who can safely Advise either ? When the Peace of *Reswick* was concluded, *England* without doubt had willingly carry'd on the War twenty Years longer, rather than such an Accession should have been made to the Strength of *France* ; and we were then abler to do it, than now to make War three Years, for while our Trade was open, we could pay our Armies and maintain our Fleets without utter Ruin, Trade in some degree replenishing the Body-Politick with that Blood and those Spirits which the War exhausted ; but as the Case now stands, and as this fatal Treaty has brought the whole Dominion of *Spain* under the *French* Power or Influence, upon a Declaration of War an immediate and full Stop must be put to the greatest part of our Foreign Traffick.

Popular Assemblies are generally most captivated with those Councils that have the appearance of being Generous and Martial, such Assemblies especially as represent a Warlike People ; and I do not remember above one Instance in our Records

ords or History, where the Parliament declined engaging in a War with *France*, it was in the time of *Henry III.* who had the Misfortune to have a constant Succession of ill Ministers during his whole Reign: And indeed when bad ones have been any time in Possession, they so perplex Affairs, that they render it almost impracticable for a better Set to come in and help the Common-wealth: And it was out of Hatred to this sort of Men that the Barons and Great Men of that time refus'd to join in the Expedition *Henry* made, upon which great Calamities happen'd to him, and to the Army he carry'd over.

If a War be necessary for our own, or the Preservation of our Allies, is there a Man of Honesty or Honour that will not give his Suffrage to enter into it forthwith? We may be divided in other Matters, but sure we shall unite in this Point, not to submit to a Foreign Yoke. I may go further and say, that he does not deserve the Name of an *English* Man who is not desirous to obviate remoter Fears, and who is not willing to spill his last drop of Blood, rather than the *French* should be left in a Condition to insult and subdue

subdue one Nation after another, till at last they have form'd a Power which nothing shall be able to resist. Such must not only have lost all their Honesty but all their Understanding, who do not think we are, in this Juncture, to do our utmost to secure *Holland* by a sufficient Barrier ; nor can we prudently let the Emperor, the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince be oppress'd, who is able to bear a part in a Strength to be Confederated against those who would swallow all. If this cannot be Negotiated by Treaties, and if such a Peace as this side of the World may securely rely upon, is not in a short time fairly consented to, who will not give his Voice for endeavouring to obtain it virtuously, and as our Ancestors were wont to do, by Force of Arms, and with such fatal Resolution, and with a Courage so determin'd, as may make them perhaps doubtful of their own Safety who now threaten to invade their Neighbours ?

The Attempts of a Free People firmly bent so to continue, are higher and of a nobler Nature, than the Military Exploits of a dispirited Country reduc'd to Servitude ; and we shall never be afraid to meet 'em at Sea or in the Field, tho' with

with unequal Forces. If any among us seem at present willing to embrace peaceful Councils, and to decline entring upon immediate Action ; 'tis not that they doubt themselves, or dread the Adverse Strength, or that their ancient Enmity to *France* is buried in Oblivion, which was born with us, and which will subsist as long as *English* Men are touch'd with any Care for their Religion or their Liberties: But if any appear less forward than the rest to engage in a new War, 'tis upon Considerations of another kind.

They are not so apprehensive of Coping with any Foreign Strength, as they are fearful they shall be compell'd to enter into fresh Conflicts with the Enemies of *England*, whom they had almost subdu'd, but who begin now again to erect their Heads, having some prospect of Trouble and Confusion. They are jealous that War, as it first introduc'd upon the Stage of Business, so it will again bring into Play the very set of Men whose Ruinous Conduct for Eight Years, was a greater Weight upon this Kingdom, than all our other Burthens: They are afraid the same Vipers will once more have an opportunity to rend and gnaw the Entrails of the
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Common-wealth: They are under Apprehensions of seeing a War carried on upon the same Foot as formerly, that is, by a numerous Land-Army and with a small Fleet: They are fearful that Forty Millions more will be handled by the same Men, and with the same Profusion: They expect to see the same Set of Men raise yet larger Fortunes out of the Nations Treasure. They know what a rich Harvest War and a troubled State has in all Ages yielded to Ministers who are resolved to be Corrupt: They expect to see new Projects set a-foot, large Supplies demanded, and no Accompts truly stated: They fear to see high Premiums and high Interest once more in Vogue, and to have the Nation involv'd in yet a further Intricacy of Paper-Credit: They doubt that such a Debt will be at last Contracted, and most of it abroad, as in time must impoverish and sink *England*: They expect to see Managers demean themselves with their former Insolence, countenancing their Fellow-Criminals, and discouraging those who would promote better Government; for 'twill be hard if out of the many Millions that must be Levied every Year to carry on a War, so much cannot be spar'd and steal in under other

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Articles;

Articles as may serve to form them a strong Party, and give 'em once more that Majority of which they were wont to boast. In short, being afraid the same Persons will again grasp at their former Power, good Men hope no better than to behold a new Scene of the same Male-Administration in all our Business.

For 'tis to be fear'd that they who have any Tenderness or Compassion, will never be able to behold the Calamities which a new War must bring upon their Country, plung'd already into such immense Debts; at least 'tis not to be imagined they will be active and instrumental in devising new Projects, and in proposing more Taxes, and in laying fresh Burthens upon the People. On the contrary, 'tis more probable that good Men will retire, and not be willing to meddle with the harsh Business that must of Necessity be perform'd, when once the Drum shall begin to beat. Their Ears can never endure the Cries of the Poor for want of Trade and Work; they cannot augment or forge Fears to procure large Aids; they cannot drill the People on with false hopes to make the Affair in hand go the easier; they cannot neglect
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all Care for the future, so they provide for the present Exigency : They cannot willingly be brought to load the Kingdom with any more remote Funds, for the Profit of Foreigners and to our Ruin : They will tremble to ask for, and be ashamed to Consent to Sums which others may think absolutely needful. To be plain, good Men are not endow'd with the Intrepidity in dangerous Councils, with the Dexterity in Deceiving, with the Audacity in Asking, with the plyant and supple Temper of Consenting, with the Front in justifying false Steps, nor with many other Arts of which they made open Profession, who pretend the late War was so successfully carry'd on by their Management.

This being in all probability the Case, and that they upon whose Abilities, Wisdom and Integrity, the Nation relies most, will not be willing to meddle in Affairs at a time which is like to prove so full of Trouble ; it naturally follows, that the Administration must again fall into their Hands, whom long Custom has harden'd to oppress the People with Taxes, whose Conduct of late Years has been so destructive, and who have already involv'd us

in Difficulties through which it will be almost impossible to wade.

'Tis the Fear of such and not the Dread of Foreign Arms, that make some Men doubtful what Councils to embrace. If we could be cur'd of these Apprehensions, who would be unwilling to hear the Trumpet sound? Is there a Man that does not think it honourable for *England* to hold the Ballance? Are we not all equally afraid that *France* unoppos'd may attain to Universal Empire? Do we not all think our selves safe led by the King, and Fighting under his Auspicious Banners? Will not Nations crowd in to Confederate with a Prince, whom, above all the Kings of the Earth, it most imports to preserve the Liberties of *Europe*? Does it not appear that our Fleet is not only in a Condition to defend us, but strong enough to seek out any who shall declare themselves our Enemies, and to carry to their very Coasts the Terror of an Invasive War? We know the Valour of our own Troops, Money will not be wanting, and we know how to open a new Vein of Treasure to maintain Land and Sea-Forces at any time, when the Defence of *England* shall come in question; nor can *Eng-*
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lish Men be ever afraid of engaging with a People, whom, for so many Ages, they have been us'd to Conquer. If we are capable of entertaining any Fears, 'tis of the Enemy within us; 'tis of that Set of Men, who so long have stood in Battle-Array against the Ancient Constitution of this Kingdom, who so boldly have justified all sorts of Corruption and Misgovernment, and who for many Days did so strenuously appear for the keeping up of a Land-Army in the time of Peace.

Let us be out of danger of falling into the same Hands which play'd so foul a Game before: Let us be sure the Money we are to raise is to defend the Kingdom, and not to enrich them: Let us be certain that the Wars we make are to erect Trophies to our own Honour, and not to build up their Families, and there will be found but few Persons unwilling to enter upon Measures that shall be thought necessary in this Juncture, to keep the Power of *France* within due Limits.

The Partition-Treaty has wrought such Effects that the *French* are got quietly into Possession of what they could not have obtain'd by Force in many Years; *Flanders*

ders is in their Hands, and the Ports of *Spain* and *Italy* are in their Power, so that we have now a difficult After-Game to play; for Nations show quite a different Spirit and Ardour when they contend to preserve what is their own, than when they Fight to recover what has been lost for want of Care and Wisdom. 'Tis a sad Prospect to begin at what should be the end of our Journey; and tho' our Arms should be Crown'd with the Success which may be expected from the Justice of our Cause, yet the most we can hope is that Things shall be upon the same Foot as they were when the Peace of *Reswick* was concluded, that is, *Spain*, in whatever Hands it be, must have no more *French* Garisons in any of its Dominions, and must be no longer under the Influence of *French* Councils; for nothing less can secure our Trade, and make *Flanders* a Barrier to *Holland*. And to be satisfy'd with less when the Sword is once drawn, will neither consist with our Honour nor our Safety.

This gives us the Prospect of a long, bloody, and expensive Enterprize, which is no way to be carry'd on but with infinite Patience, Courage, Industry and frugal

gal Management of the Kingdom's
Treasure.

The People coming out of a long Peace, a vast Trade, and an overflowing Plenty, could bear the Negligence and Profusion which appear'd almost in every Article that had relation to the Expences of the last War: But the Case is now alter'd, we are par'd to the Quick, we shall be sensible of every Tax, we have no exuberant Wealth to throw away, and a very few of those Errors which were heretofore committed, will undo us past Redemption.

If then to preserve *Europe*, and to maintain our Post of holding the Ballance, must engage us in fresh Action, it will give the People of *England* new Vigour, Spirit and Life, to undertake the Work, if they see the Administration of their Affairs put into the Hands of a frugal and grave Ministry, who will not make such very great hast to grow Rich as their late Predecessors have done; who will have some other Cares about 'em, than just how to procure an Aid of Mony; who will place the Management of the publick Revenues in skilful Hands, and not make

Employments the Rewards of Flattery to the Men in Power, or of servile compliance, in a Place that shall be nameless; who will not let the Nation be wronged in every Bargain, and in every Accompt that is brought before them; who will take Care that the Accompts of the Army and the Navy be fairly examined into and stated; and who will be so far from deceiving the King themselves, that they will not suffer him to be deceived by others; who will not ask more than what is just needful, and look into the Expences of the smallest Sum that shall be granted: And who will have this honest Notion strongly imprinted in their Minds, That in Times when their Country is under Calamities it is by no means decent for the Men trusted with her Business, to think of procuring high Titles, or of erecting to themselves large and invidious Fortunes; for the common People are impatient to see others flow in Luxury and Riches, at Seasons when they are oppress'd with Want; and 'tis a kind of Ease to them, that those above 'em should at least make some appearance of participating in the Miseries they are forced to undergo.

With

With such a frugal Management, and such a Set of Men as have been here describ'd, this Kingdom will not only be willing, but able to carry on another War. But in a Nation so industriously corrupted as Ours has lately been, and where Vice has got such a Head and Strength; and in a Season when we are threaten'd with so many Storms, 'tis to be fear'd, for the Reasons already shown, the best and ablest Hands will desert the Service of the Publick; but if they do, it will lie at their Doors to have given the last finishing Stroke towards the Ruin of this Constitution.

This is the time for Men of Probity and Virtue to exert themselves, who should press forward to serve their King and Country, and thereby to rescue Both from those Rapacious and Unskilful Hands, who, tho' they have already had the Crop, desire still to be picking up the Gleanings, of which too many now call out for War (not to oppose *France*, or to preserve the Ballance, nor upon any motive of Honour) but out of Hopes it may afford new Matter for

their Avarice and Ambition to work upon.

They who love *England*, the King and our Ancient Government, rely much upon those who with not above Eighty in Number did for several Years so bravely Charge through this Mercenary and Lifted Band, till at last by having Reason on their side, and by constantly persuing the true Interest of the Nation, they made so many Converts as to be strong enough to Defeat and Rout the Adverse Party ; and 'tis to be hop'd they are now intirely Masters of the Field.

By going on in the same Steps, and by being still guided by the same Principles upon which they first acted ; that is, if they continue to promote Thrift ; if they warmly Animadvert upon any Exorbitances in the Ministry ; if they shew the same Care as heretofore, of saving the Kingdom's Treasure ; if they persevere in watching all Encroachments upon Liberty, and our Civil Rights ; and if they persue National Good in all their Deeds and Councils, they will always have the People on their side, with whose Weight they will be able to bear down whatever
Op-

Opposition Selfish and Designing-Men may think to form against them ; and so they will be in a condition to save that Country, which by their Vigilance and Caution, and by their Courage mix'd with Temper, they have hitherto preserved.

Tho' our Affairs have an ill Aspect, yet they are very far from being desperate ; *England* can go a great way when 'tis compelled to exert its utmost Strength, and a good Administration will probably be followed with all sort of other good Events. If it be Objected, That we are a divided Nation, and consequently incapable of any great Action : It may be Answer'd, That these Divisions will forthwith cease, when it shall become visible, that the best and ablest Men only of both Sides shall be made use of : But Factions will continue on if the Project be to make an Union between the worst and most profligate Persons that are got to be considerable in either of the Two Contending Parties ; and if it be intended out of such a Coalition to Compose a Ministry.

To

To be strong Abroad, we must have a steady and irreproachable Government at Home, which cannot be, so long as those Persons remain unquestion'd, and unpunish'd, who have been the chief Authors of those Councils, under the bad Effects of which we now labour. Can a Citadel be safe that has Enemies lurking within its principal Holds, and perhaps commanding its very Gates? Can Foreign Nations rely upon a People who show such Weakness and Negligence in Matters of Government, as not to call to account the Persons by whose Advice the Treaty of Partition was made; and the Persons, who made the Second false step, of not Advising to call a Parliament immediately upon the first News of the King of *Spain's* Sickness, which all the World then judg'd must prove Mortal?

From these Two fatal Measures a Train of Mischiefs will follow, too long to be here Enumerated.

In the First Instance, They acted contrary to the Methods observ'd by all our Ancestors, which (as shall be demonstrated in the following Discourse) have ever been

been, from the Time of *William the Norman* downwards, not to make Declarations of War, Conclusions of Peace, Truces, Leagues, Alliances, nor indeed to Transact any important Matter, especially with the Realm of *France*, without Advice of Parliament. And this has been so much the constant practice of all former Ages, Two or Three Reigns excepted, that it seems to have been one of the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom.

In the Second Instance, we have acted against the Scheme for some time laid down, which was to have Prorogations generally from Month to Month, (tho' with some hardship to the Subjects because of Privilege) the Reason of which was suggested, That a Parliament might be within Call, in case of any extraordinary accident, such as an Invasion, while the War lasted, or since the Peace, in case the King of *Spain* should Die.

These Two Councils have led us into all our present Difficulties. As to the Partition Treaty, If they who have the Management of Affairs, are upon any score to be call'd to an Account, it must certainly

tainly be when they have presumed to make a Breach upon Fundamental Constitutions. Was it not an Offence of the highest Nature to advise an Alliance with Enemies but newly Reconciled, and which if it took effect, could have no other Conclusion but to make us quarrel with those who had been our best and most faithful Confederates? And to do this without their Consent or Privity, at whose Expence the War was to be carry'd on, and at a time when the Great Council of the Nation was actually Assembled? When a War is begun, we all know Honour or Necessity will compel us to support it. And if Ministers can at their Discretion engage us in a War; 'tis they, and not the House of Commons that keep the Purse of *England*.

'Tis evident enough who made the first false Step; but hitherto it seems more in the Dark, at whose Instigation the Meeting of the Parliament was so long deferr'd, when, in all Appearance, the King's Affairs required the immediate Advice and Assistance of his People.

It has been hitherto the Practice of our late Men of Business, when at any time their Proceedings have been enquir'd into, to purge themselves thus, They who went before us did the same things ; which however is but a blind Excuse for Men who came in and did set up upon the Foot of Reformation. And in all likelihood when they are under Apprehensions of being Attack'd, they will again endeavour to justify themselves by accusing such as they think may succeed 'em in the Ministry, in hopes to drive Parties into what has been heretofore called Compounding. This Game they have already begun to play, by insinuating, That the Parliament was kept off by New Councils; who they point at, we all know; but when this whole Matter comes to be thoroughly Examin'd, it will appear out of what Quiver that Arrow came; and that the Persons hinted at had no Hand in this unfortunate Advice; and that a speedy Sessions was above all Things their Interest; and tho' indeed from the Moment the Treaty of Partition was made, our Affairs were in so bad a Posture, that all thinking-men began to apprehend
it

it was almost too late to call in the only true Physicians, to consult upon the Distempers of the Body Politick. The Crisis of the Disease was just when the Peace of *Ryswick* was Concluded, our late Men of Business should then have Communicated with the Great Council of the Nation. And when they themselves had suffer'd the Malady to get to such a Head, they are angry with others for not calling out for help sooner; whereas all wise Men saw then, and think still that they who are to Minister to us in our Sicknes, must shake their Heads when they come to consider how far we are now past a perfect Cure; so much has our sound Constitution of Health been spoil'd by Quacks and Empericks. However, to quiet the Minds of Men, that they may not entertain suspicions of such a dangerous Nature concerning Persons who are trusted in high Posts, and that the Blame may fall upon the Guilty, and no where else, this whole Affair ought to have its due Examination.

But if we weigh and consider a Council by the Interest of the Men who give it, there will be Reasons to suspect that they

ternation People were in to behold this great Accession to the *French* Power, the Indignation it begot, and perhaps meer Shame to have been so grossly deluded, might make our late Men of Business not so willing to encounter suddenly with a House of Commons. And all this might render 'em desirous to keep off the Parliament's Meeting for some Days longer.

But still there is a space of Time whereof no good Accompt can be given, and in which they will pretend their Advices were not heard. An earlier Session was certainly to be wish'd for; but they who are dispos'd to judge favourably of Things, may very well conjecture, that the last Delay proceeded from that Irresolution in Councils, which is always visible in a Court, when considerable Changes in Measures or Persons are proposed or in Agitation: However without doubt 'tis for the publick Good that this whole Matter should at some convenient Season be set in its true Light, and come to a fair Examination.

And

And now to conclude this Discourse, which is swell'd to a greater Length than was first intended ; Nothing can more enable us still to maintain our Post of holding the Ballance of *Europe*, nor contribute so much to our Preservation, as for all good *English* Men to lay aside the Name of Parties, and to join in due Obedience to the King, and firm Zeal for his real Service. He will perfect that Deliverance which he began so Nobly. In him we must place our Hopes, whose present Happiness, Glory and future Fame, are so highly concern'd , that an early Stop be put to Universal Monarchy, which shall be the Subject of my Third Essay.

And to encourage his People to concur with him in this Great Work, nothing can more conduce than to see their Liberties put upon so firm a Foot, *That there may be no more Danger of the Nation's falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Power* ; the sweet prospect of continuing to be a Free People , when almost all the World round us are Slaves, will make us patiently endure the Bloodshed, Hazards, Losses, and Expence of Treasure, which

we must expect to undergo if our own, and the Defence of *Europe* must of Necessity engage us in another War.

They who talk of resisting *France* to the last drop of Blood, and who yet are ready at every Turn to give up our ancient Constitution, deceive none but their own blind Admirers. They who are most watchful over any Invasion made upon our Civil Rights, will best defend us against Foreign Enemies. Nor indeed is *England* hardly worth the Loss of one valiant Life to defend it, if Liberty, for so many Ages struck at by the Ministers, cannot be preserv'd.

The Beginnings of Arbitrary Government are always light and easy, and its first Steps are slow and leisurely; but if Power be suffer'd to spread it self, and to take deep Root, and if it be not betimes opposed, it grows at last irresistible; for a thousand Circumstances concur to hinder the People from recovering any Ground they have once lost; their Friends are commonly divided among one another; Corruption intervenes, or Wealth makes them Timorous. Their Enemies agree in any Mischief, the Means of
Cor-

Corrupting is in their Hands, they are liable to few Fears, as having much to get and little to lose. So that they who love their Country, have been generally found to be but a disjointed and weak Party, to withstand those whom Despair emboldens, whom their Crimes render desperate, and whom their common Guilt unites.

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AN
ESSAY
ON
WAR, PEACE,
AND
ALLIANCES.

ESSAY II.

I

(127)

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ESSAY II.

I

A N

E S S A Y

UPON THE

R I G H T

O F M A K I N G

War, Peace, and Alliances.

E S S A Y II.

KIng *James* the I. in a Parlia-
 ment held the 19th of his
 Reign, having said in a Mes-
 sage to the House of Com-
 mons, That they were not to medle with
 any thing concerning his Government
 and deep Matters of State; And besides,
 That these were Matters far above their
 Reach and Capacity; And upon their
 Advising in an Address a War to recover
 the *Palatinate*, the same King having
 K said

said, That they usurped upon his Royal Prerogative, And, *Ne sutor ultra Crepidam*, And, That intermeddling in Parliament in Matters of Peace or War, or the Marriage of the Prince, would be such a Diminution to Him and his Crown in Foreign Countries, as would make any Prince neglect to Treat with Him: That they had left nothing unattempted in the highest Points of Sovereignty; That their Address contain'd the violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War, &c. And King *Charles* the II. having said, That the Right of making and maintaining War and Peace was in Him.

And since 'tis more than probable, that they who advis'd the Partition Treaty did go upon the like Notions, taking for granted this Doctrine which they had received from old Flatterers of the Court, who were then brought to Flatter them, without examining what Foundation it had in Truth, Law, or Reason; some of these Modern Statesmen being so addicted to Musick and Poetry, that they had not leisure to consult the antient Historians and our old Records.

And

And since the Post to which *England* has pretended of holding the Ballance of *Europe*, and which 'tis hop'd we have not yet abandon'd, may, in future Ages, engage us in many foreign Wars, if we think to maintain it as our Ancestors have done; And the Interruption of Peace and Calamities of War affecting the Body of the People here in a more peculiar way, because now the Prince has no Crown Demesnes, nor no Lands which owe him Military Service, his Subjects bearing the Expence of all his warlike Expeditions, perhaps it may prove no unprofitable Labour in the Publick Service to inquire how far, and in what manner the Right of making War and Peace, Alliances and Treaties is by the Constitution of this Kingdom vested in the Executive Power?

The Subject we are to handle is of a very difficult Nature, but as the Author is induc'd to this Undertaking by no Motive but an earnest desire to serve *England*, so tis hop'd what he shall here advance will meet with a favourable Interpretation, and that if he commits Errors in so prolix and intricate a Mat-

ter they will be pardon'd, because upon a fair Conviction, he will be ready to retract 'em forthwith, and in publick.

I cannot find when or how this Doctrine crept in, That the Right of making War and Peace is indefinitely, without any sort of Distinction or Restriction vested in the Kings of *England*, but certainly they who advance it have neither read our Histories nor consulted our Records. But upon this Notion, King *Charles II.* was perswaded to say to the Commons, who in 1677. advis'd him to a War with *France*, and to enter into certain Leagues for the preservation of *Flanders*, *That they intrench'd upon so undoubted a Right of the Crown, that he was confident it would appear in no Age (when the Sword was not drawn) that the Perogative of making Peace and War had been so dangerously invaded.* These and the like Words having sometimes come from the Throne, has given me the Curiosity to consult those Authors who are accompted the Fathers of our Law, to see whither such Suggestions of the Ministers were supported by any ancient Authorities: And truly he who makes this search
will

will find them either silent in the Point, or laying down Maxims quite of another Nature.

Ranulphus de Glanvilla who liv'd in the Reign of *Henry* the II. in his Tract of the Laws and Customs of *England*, though he has often occasion to mention the Rights of the Crown, says nothing of this Prerogative: Nor is it contain'd in the Book call'd *Fleta* written, as is conjectur'd, in the same Reign.

Bracton, who is suppos'd to have liv'd in the time of *Henry* the III. and whose Writings show him to have been an able States-man, as well as a sound Lawyer, in one Place enumerates all the principal Rights of the Crown, [*Lib. 2. Cap. 24.*] where it seems explain'd how far the King has the Power of War and Peace: He says he has the material Sword, as it has relation to the Kingdom's Government, and what belongs to Peace, as far as he is to protect the People, and to provide that they may not injure one another.

Horn, who treats of Government, in his *Speculum Justiciariorum*, written according

If this had beed a Stated Doctrine, a certain Right, and an undoubted Prerogative, 'tis impossible all these ancient and great Men of the long Robe should have been silent in the Point, we have therefore Reason to believe that these and the like Notions, were started by modern Flatterers, who hop'd to promote themselves by advancing the Prerogative beyond the Intention of our Laws.

Did it consist with the Brevity intended in this Discourse, I could plain-show, that till of late Years, neither in *France* nor *Spain*, nor indeed in any of the Governments form'd after the *Gothick* Model, did Kings ever pretend to make War, Peace or Allyances without the consent of their People assembled for that Purpose; And in *England* the Presidents in this Point are as clear as they are numerous, from the time of *William* the *Norman* downwards.

Chronicon
Col. 958.
N. 30.
Col. 479.
N. 30, &
Col. 2339.
N. 20, 30.

Perſuant to this, *William* I. when he design'd the Invasion of *England*, consulted his Barons and Great Men of *Normandy*, and with their Advice undertook the Expedition.

William

find the Prince claiming no such Prerogative or Right. Nor is the Doctrine to be found in *Littleton* who wrote in the time of *Henry VI.*

Sir *John Fortescue* vers'd in Politicks, as well as in the Law, Chancellor to *Henry VI.* in his Book *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ* does not endeavour to poison Young Prince *Edward's* Ear with any such Arbitrary Notions. *Henry the VIII.* a Prince of Inclinations despotical enough, could not as I can find influence his Judge *Fitz Herbert*, to fix any such Right in the Crown, tho' he has copiously handled the Matter of Prerogative; Nor is it to be found in my Lord *Coke's* Institutes or Reports; on the contrary, where he discourses of the Matters of Parliament, He says, they are touching the King the State of the Kingdom of *England*, and the Defence of the Kingdom, &c. and Remarks that these words of the Writ, *The State and Defence of the Kingdom* are large Words and include the rest. He observes they are call'd, *ad Faciendum & consentiendum super Negotiis antedictis.*

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William Rufus thought the Barons had such a Concern in what related to Peace and War; That the Peace which was made between him and his Brother Duke *Robert*, was sworn to by Twelve Barons of each Nation.

Chronicon
Col. 216.
N. 20. &
Col. 986.
N. 50.

In the Reign of *Henry I.* the Peace which was made between *Henry* and his Brother Duke *Robert*, was again sworn to by Twelve Barons of each side.

Mat. Paris
p. 58.
N. 20. &
Chronicon
Col. 998.
N. 50. 60.

In the next Reign which was that of *Stephen*, the Peace which was made between him and *Henry Fitz Empress* (who had the true Title to the Crown) was confirm'd and sworn to by the Prelates, Barons, and all the Great Men of the Realm, * *Gervasius* the Monk is yet more particular in the Point, who says the Earls Barons and Great Men of the Realm swore to and Confirm'd the Peace.

Mat. Paris
p. 86. N.
20.

* *Chronicon*
Col. 1375.
N. 1.

In the next Reign which was that of *Henry II.* *Hoveden* tells us how that some differences had happen'd between *Alphonso* King of *Castile* and *Sancho* King of *Navar*; both these Princes had agreed to make King *Henry* Arbitrator in the Matter, each Consign'd three Castles, which were to be forfeited by him who refus'd to stand to the

† Fol. 321.
N. 20.

ibid. Fol.
320. N.40.
50.

the Award, and for this a Treaty had been sign'd. The King did not think fit to make any Determination in this Point, but in his high Court of Parliament, where he order'd the Ambassadors to deliver what they had to say. Their mutual Demands one upon another were produc'd: After which the Earls and Barons of the Royal Court of *England*, adjudg'd plenary Satisfaction to be made by each Party, of what was rightfully demanded by the other upon the Premises.

ibid. Fol.
322. N.20.

And as mad as the World was in that Age of going to the Holy Land, our Princes did not think they could undertake even those Expeditions without the Advice and Assent of their People. For the same King having design'd a Crusado, call'd, A General Council at *Gaintington* of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons and many others as well of the Clergy as of the Layety, and there communicated to 'em the Articles agreed upon between him and *Philip of France* for this Expedition; and *Gervasius* tells us, That in this general Assembly of the Estates of *England*, the Conditions Form and Method of the Crusado were debated and agreed upon.

ibid. Fol.
366. N. 20.

Chronicon
Col. 1522.
N. 1.

In

In the next Reign which was that of *Richard I.* * *Matthew Paris* tells us, that *Philip Augustus* King of *France* sent Ambassadors to *Richard*, signifying that he and his Barons had devoted themselves by Oath to an Expedition for the *Holy Land*, desiring that *Richard* and his Barons would do the same, whereupon *Richard* assembled at *Westminster* a Council of the Prelates and Great Men, and communicated to 'em this Embassy, and in that Assembly the said Expedition was resolv'd upon.

* p. 155.
N. 50.

In the next Reign which was that of King *John*, we find indeed a King doing things of the highest Consequence, and making Treaties without the Assent of his Barons and Great Men. But what effect did these Measures produce? Did not this Prince as much as in him lay render himself and the Nation Vassals and Tributary to the Pope, by the surrender he made of his Realm to *Pandolphus* the Pope's Legate, and by the Charter he signed to that purpose. This Treaty which King *John* entred into without consulting the Barons and Great Men of the Kingdom, produc'd innumerable Mischeifs in the Reign of *Henry III.* his Son, for as * *Mat-
them Paris* tells us, under colour of this Charter the Pope made very great Exactions

Vide Chronicon. Col. 2419. N. 30.

* Pag. 524.
N. 20.

ons upon the Clergy, which being upbraided to him by the Emperor's Ambassadors (who at that time desir'd his Aid) he gave this shameful Answer, *That he ought to obey the Pope and his Ecclesiastical Commands, in regard he was his Vassal and Tributary.* And in return of this the Pope assisted *Henry* in all the Invasions he made upon the Liberties of the People: To such Inconveniencies may whole Nations be brought by an Alliance concerted only in the Court, to which Foreign Princes may perhaps think the People bound tho' (as in this made by King *John*) they never consented to it.

In the next Reign, which was that of *Henry III.* we find, where Parliaments have not been consulted they have not thought themselves oblig'd to pay the Expence, for as we learn from * *Matthew Paris*, King *Henry* held a Parliament at *Winchester*, where he desired an Aid from his People, in regard his own Treasure had been exhausted with paying his Sisters Portion to the Emperor, and by his own Wedding. The Parliament reply'd That these things had been done without advising with them, and without their Consent, and seeing they were free from the Fault, they ought not to participate in the

* p. 435.
N. 40.

the Punishment. The *Poictovins*, to serve their own turns had at another time engag'd him in an unseasonable War with *France*, upon which he call'd a Parliament, and desir'd an Aid, upon which the Barons told him he had undertaken it unadvisedly, † *Quod talia conceperat inconsultus*. And that his Parliament wondr'd he would undertake so difficult and dangerous a Business without their Advice and Assent.

† Ibid p.
580. N. 10.
20.

In the next Reign, which was that of *Edward I.* upon the Death of *Alexander III.* King of *Scotland*, there arose a Dispute among the *Scots* about choosing a Husband for *Margaret* call'd the Maid of *Norway*, Daughter of *Eric* the *Norwegian*, and Grandchild to *Alexander*. These Differences were no sooner compos'd, but the Virgin died, upon whose Death there were several Competitors for the Crown. *Edward* as Superiour or direct Lord thereof, call'd a Parliament by their Advice to determine this Controversie. [*Rot. de Super. Reg. Ang. in Reg. Scot.*] And Sentence in this great Cause was pronounc'd Judicially by the King (as the same Record takes Notice) by the Advice of the Prelates and Noblemen of both Kingdoms.

The

* p. 421.
N. 20.

The same King (as * *Matthew of Westminster* tells us) in the 21st. of his Reign summon'd a Parliament, where the State of the War was open'd, the Embassies were related, and those who had been employ'd by the King in Foreign Negotiations gave an account of their respective Transactions, and this in a full Assembly, where all Assented to recover *Gascony* by Force of Arms, and in this Parliament an Aid was granted, and an Embargo laid upon our own Ships.

The same *Edward* made an Alliance with the Earl of *Flanders*. He gave this Reason for it, That the King of *France* oppress'd the said Earl, and therefore because he was so Strong and Powerful not acknowledging any Superiour, By the Advice of his Prelats, Earls and Barons he made Alliances and Covenants with his Friends to endure from that time for ever, and particularly with the Earl of *Flanders*. *Confed. int. Reg. & Com. Fland. Rot. Pat. 25. Ed. I. p. 1. Memb. 18.*

In the next Reign, which was that of *Edward II.* In the 5th of that King, it was Enacted, That the King should not undertake a War, nor appoint a Guardian
or

or Lieutenant of the Kingdom, nor go out of the Realm, without the Assent of his Barons in Parliament. And Summons to attend him without the said Assent first had, were to be void. And though this was one of the Ordinances made by the Lords appointed with the King's Assent under the Great Seal to make Laws for better Government, and was repeal'd in the Parliament held at *York* 15 *Ed. II.* Yet by the Preamble it appears no new thing was done, and that the same was the anti-ent Law of *England*. The Roll begins thus, *Forasmuch as the King ought not to take in hand a War, nor to quit the Realm without the Assent of his Barons, Be it Ordained, &c. Rot. Ord. 5 Ed. II. N. 9.*

In the 9th Year of the same Reign, the King himself present in Parliament, Order'd the Occasion of the Meeting to be open'd, which was the War with *Scotland*, desiring to be advis'd and assisted therein by his People. At the same time the whole Militia of the Kingdom were rais'd by Authority of Parliament, and order'd to be ready by such a Day at *New Castle upon Tine*, *Rot. Parl. 9 Edm. II. N. 1.*

In

In the next Reign, which was that of *Edward* the III. The Chancellor by the King's Command consulted the Parliament, upon the present State of his Affaires, whether he should joyn Issue with the King of *France* in referring the Differences between 'em, or whether he should Treat amicably with him, or proceed to open War. The Prelats, Earls, Barrons, and other Great Men Answer'd and Advis'd, that either a Reference or a War were both full of Dangers, and are rather of Opinion for a Treaty: But secrecy being requir'd in it, the Chancellor from the King desires them to say whom they would have, and what Persons they would Advise should go and make the Treaty; To which they reply'd, that the King should name whom he thought fittest; upon which the King in Parliament nam'd the Commissioners for this Treaty, and part of their Power and Business was there prescribed to 'em. *Rot. Parl.* 5 *Ed.* 3. N^o. 3.

In the same Year the King was desir'd to go over into *Ireland* in Person to suppress the Commotions there, with as much Speed as possible: 'Twas there likewise agreed in Parliament, in what manner the Lords and great Men who had Possessions there

there should Act in relation to the Defence of that Kingdom, *Rot. ibid. N. 4.*

In the Sixth of the same Reign the King consulted his Parliament about an intended Expedition to the Holy Land with the King of *France*, and it was consented to in Parliament, *Rot. Parl. 6 Edw. 3. pt. 1. N. 5.*

In the Reign of this Active and Martial King there was no Point of Government relating to Peace, War, and Alliances, in which the Parliament was not consulted. But perhaps it may be objected, that the King was then Young, let us therefore see what he did when he came to riper Years.

In the Seventeenth of the same Reign, the Causes of Summoning the Parliament were open'd to be, To Treat and Advise with the Lords and Commons in relation to the Truce lately made in *Britany*, between the King and his Adversary of *France*, *Rot. Parl. 17 Ed. 3. N. 7.* And he acquainted them, That because the War was undertaken by the joynt consent of Lords and Commons, he would not treat of a Peace without the like Assent of his People. *ibid. N. 8.*

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The Lords answer'd, Their Opinion was, That the said Truce was honourable and advantageous, And they agree and assent, that the Truce should continue and be observ'd; And the Commons answer'd, They were fully consenting and agreeing to this Truce, that a good and honourable Peace might follow. *ibid.* N. 9.

In the Eighteenth of the same Reign, we find the King again consulting Lords and Commons in Matters relating to War and Peace; and not only so, but both Houses advis'd him in the very manner of making War. With one assent they advis'd him, That in regard of the many Perils that might happen to the King, his Subjects and Allies, if a stop were not put to the Malice of his Adversary, and considering the great Expences *England* bore in a War thus lengthen'd out by falacious Truces; And perceiving plainly that a Peace was not to be come at but by proceeding with more Vigour; They therefore desire Him, to put an end to it, either by Battle or a sound Peace if he can have it; And they further desired, when he should be fully provided for the Expedition, That he would not put

a stop to it, till all was ended one way or other, upon Letters, or at the Intreaty of the Pope, nor of any other Prince. Which the King Granted, *Rot. Parl.* 18 *Edm.* 3. N. 6, 7, 8, 9.

In the Twentyfirst of the same Reign the Causes of Calling the Parliament were recited, of which the Principal was, To advise concerning the Truce which was then near Expiring, *viz.* What should be done when it was Expired? The Commons answer'd, That as to War and the Preparations of it, they were so unknowing in the Matter, they could not give any Advice in it; They therefore desir'd the King to proceed in it as he should be Advis'd by the Lords, and the Wise Men of his Council, and that they would Assent to what should be agreed upon by them, *Rot. Parl.* 21 *Edm.* 3. N. 4 & 5.

The Advocates for Arbitrary Power, will perhaps instance this Precedent to show, that the Commons ought not to think War and Peace their Province: But first here is nothing that impeaches the Right of the House of Lords, they were still to be consulted; Next let us

consider the Circumstances of the Time, which will plainly show, the Commons had good Reason for desiring to be excus'd from interposing with their Advice. For at that very Season Money had been levy'd without Act of Parliament, of which they complain'd by Petition, *Rot. ibid.* N. 44. It appears from the Record, That there was then in *England* a Standing Army, to maintain which, Money was unlawfully Rais'd: And when the Nation was injur'd in so fundamental a Point, it had been to no purpose, and the House of Commons were certainly in the right, not to give the Ministers so much Countenance, as to concern themselves in War or Peace, or with any other thing that was then in agitation. But this wise King soon redress'd that Greivance, after which there was a better understanding between Him and his People.

In the Twentyeighth of the same Reign the Cause of Summoning the Parliament was declared to be, The Treaty of Peace with *France*. It was open'd to the Lords and Commons, That there was a Treaty depending and in good forwardness, which the King would not
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conclude without the Assent of the Lords and Commons; They were therefore ask'd by the King's Command, whether they would Assent to a Peace if by Treaty it could be had, The Commons answer'd, That what Issue in this Matter pleas'd the King and the Lords would satisfy them: But this was not thought a sufficient Consent, the Lord Chamberlain therefore demanded of the Commons, Do you then Assent to a Treaty of perpetual Peace? Whereupon they unanimously replied Yes, Yes, *Rot. Parl. 28 Edw. 3. N. 58.*

In the Twentyninth of the same Reign the Occasion of the Summons was open'd, and 'twas declar'd to be the Peace then in Transaction with *France*, upon the whole he desired the Advice of his Parliament, what was best to be done to put an end to the War, and how he might be enabled to conclude it with less Grievance to the People, and most advantage to himself, *Rot. Parl. 29 Edw. 3. N. 10.*

In the Thirtyfixth of the same Reign, the Affairs of *Scotland* were debated in the House of Lords, and by the King's

Command there was open'd an Offer, in order to a future Peace, which had been made at *York*, at a Treaty between the King's Commissioners, and those of *David Bruce* King of *Scotland*: And 'twas ask'd of the Lords, What they thought of the said Offer, who unanimously answer'd they could not Assent to it, as prejudicial to the King's Crown, *Rot. Parl. 36 Ed. 3. N. 6.*

p. 139 In the Fortieth of the same Reign, The King consulted his Parliament in a very high Point of State of which War might probably have been the Consequence the Superstition of that Age consider'd. It seems the Pope (*Urban V.* late then in the Chair) had a mind to renew a groundless Pretension he had upon this Realm in Virtue of what had been transacted, *Anno 1212.* between King *John* and *Innocent* the III. 'Twas open'd to both Houses, how the Pope claim'd, That *England* and *Ireland* should be held of him in Homage, under the Annual acknowledgment of a Thousand Marks. He desires therefore to be advis'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, how he should Act in case the Pope proceeded any way with him or his

his Kingdom about this pretended Claim. The Lords answer'd, That King *John* nor no other could put the King his Realm nor his People, under such a Subjection without their Consent and Agreement. The Commons were consulted in the matter and gave the same Reply. Upon which an Act pass'd, declaring the Invalidity of what King *John* had done: That if he had made the pretended Subjection, 'twas against his Coronation Oath; declaring further, That if the Pope went about by Suit, or otherways to Compel the King or his Subjects to this Homage or Payment, they would resist and contest to the utmost of their Power, *Rot. Parl. 40 Ed. 3. N. 7, 8.*

In the Fortysecond of the same Reign, the Parliament was consulted about a Treaty of Peace with *Scotland*, then upon the Anvil, *Rot. Parl. 42. Ed. 3. N^o. 7.*

In the Fortythird of the same Reign, the Sessions was open'd with these Words: Srs, The King in all great Affairs, that touch him or his Kingdom, has ever act-

ed by the advice of his Lords and Commons. Then it was shown, How that the King by advice of Parliament, had made a Peace with his Adversary of *France* upon certain Conditions, (*viz.*) That the said Adversary should deliver up certain Territories, and pay certain sums at times limited in the Treaty; and that further, the said adversary should forego the Superior Dominion or Sovereignty in all the Lands and Countries which the King held in *Gascony*, and in all the Lands which the King held beyond the Seas; and that the King should for bear Styling himself King of *France*, during the said Term. Then it was set forth, how the said adversary had perform'd no Condition of the Peace, and had summon'd the Prince of *Glascony*, to appear before him at *Paris*, contrary to the Treaty; and had made War, upon our Sovereign Lord the King: That hereupon the Prince had call'd the States of *Gascony*, who were of Opinion, That by reason of these Infractions, the King ought to resume his Sytle and Title. And upon this, the Prelates in Parliament were charg'd to to deliberate, and to deliver to the King their Advice and Council: Whereupon the said Prelates upon mature deliberation
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answer'd, that the King in Right, and in good Conscience might resume the said Style; to which the Lords Temporal and Commons in full Parliament assented, *Rot. Parl. 43. Edw. 3. N^o. 1. 2. 3. 8.*

In the Fortyfifth of the same Reign the cause of Summoning the said Parliament was shown to be, That the *French* King was making very great Preparations, such as not only threatn'd the loss of the King's Dominions in *France*, but to invade *England*, and to destroy the Navy. The King therefore Charg'd the Lords and Commons to advise with themselves upon these Points, and to give him Council how his Kingdom might be defended, how his Navy might be preserv'd and maintain'd against the Malice of his Enemies, how his Foreign Territories may be guarded, and how he might make War in those Parts and Conquer the same. These are the very Words of the Record, and I think home enough to our present Point. *Rot. Parl. 45. Ed. 3. N^o. 1.*

In the Fiftieth of the same Reign the Cause of Assembling the Parliament, was declar'd to be to advise with both Houses,
How

How the War with *France* might be carry'd on with greater Vigour, and more to the Honor of the King and Kingdom; and the Chancellor affirm'd, That the King had ever mov'd by their Advice and Assistance, which had been attended with Success, that he intended to pursue the same Course, and desir'd then to be advis'd by them in the present Occurrences. *Rot. Parl.*, 50. *Ed.* 3. N^o. 2

Thus in this Warlike, Prosperous and Wise Reign, *Edward* III. call'd Sixteen several Parliaments, That he might confer with his Lords and Commons, as the Records plainly show, in matters relating to his Foreign Wars, Truces, his Leagues, Alliances and Treaties of Peace.

And in the last Parliament summon'd to this purpose, we find it solemnly declar'd, That these good Measures had been fortunate both to the Prince and People. And though in the next Reign the Ministers began to give themselves other Aires, yet we shall see this Right of the Lords and Commons of *England* asserted and continued.

In the next Reign, which was that of *Richard II.* Fourteen Articles between the King and the Duke of *Britannie*, touching the Castles and Lordship of *Brest*, were read before the Lords, and all agreed to except the 12th, which was remitted to be better consider'd of in Council, *Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. 2. N. 34.*

In the 6th of the same Reign we find the Parliament consulted in a high Point indeed. The Bishop of *London* open'd to both Houses, How that the Kingdom was never environ'd with so many Perils both at Home and Abroad, That it was upon the very brink of being Conquer'd, and the *English* Name to be extinguish'd; That there was nothing left but to yeild or vigorously to defend themselves; That in the midst of all these Dangers God had open'd two ways by which they might arrive at Safety with Honour. One was by a good Alliance with those of *Flanders* which was offer'd, That this way was noble and gave us large opportunities to annoy the Enemy, and that 'twere pity not to keep it open. The other way was that of *Portugal* to preserve our Interest in *Spain*.
That

That in the then Juncture, no Place in the World seem'd of such Importance as *Portugal* for a good and speedy Conclusion of our Wars. For if the Duke of *Lancaster* could get to *Portugal* with sufficient Forces, considering the Strength already there, in half a Year after his arival, he would either be Crown'd in *Spain*, or have a Battle. And if he should succeed the remainder of our Wars would not be difficult; That therefore this Bufiness of *Spain* should be principal in their Thoughts, and there they should employ their Pains, Diligence and Expences as what, if it came to a good Conclusion, would bring lasting Rest and Quiet to *England*. The Bishop to encourage them in it, according to the Superstition of those times, told 'em, the Pope had granted to the Duke a *Crusado*, so that they who accompany'd him in this Voyage should have the Merit, and gain the same Indulgences as if they went to the Holy Land. The Expedition of the Duke was agreed upon, and provided for in this Sessions, *Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. Part 1. N. 10, 11 12, 13, 14, 15, 23.*

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In the Second Sessions of the same Parliament the Chancellor declar'd the Reasons of the present Meeting, How that the King had design'd to go in Person to *France* to recover his Rights there, for which an Aid had been granted. That as soon as the Sessions were ended, very displeasing News came to the King, How that his Adversary of *France* had invaded *Flanders*, and in a Battle defeated his Friends and Allies, and tha the had subdued the whole Country except *Gaunt*, which still held out : Whereupon, the King had call'd a Great Council at *Westminster*, where there were present most of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and many of the most sufficient Batchelors of the Realm, before whom these Tidings were related, and it was the Opinion of all, That for the releif of *Gaunt*, and recovery of *Flanders*, the King should go over in Person with his Royal Army. But inasmuch as this was a Business so very weighty relating to the Government of the Realm in the King's Absence, none durst finally Assent either way without a Parliament. The King did therefore most earnestly charge and desire That the Lords by themselves,
and

and the Commons by themselves, would deliberately Advise upon these Matters ; and especially, Whether the King could or ought to go over in Person: And if they thought he could not without hazard- ing his Reputation undertake the Voy- age, Then, that they would advise, What Army should be sent, and what sort of Expedition there should, or could be made under whose Conduct, and in what Manner ? *Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. Part 2. N. 3, 8, 9, 10, to 22.*

In the Seventh of this Reign, The Reasons of Summoning the Parliament were open'd by *Michael de la Pole*, he who was afterwards so corrupted by Power and a great Employment, a Mis- fortune which will sometimes happen to Men Eloquent and Skillful enough in the Laws. And by the following Speeches it appears that this Chancellor knew very well the Constitution of *England*, and what a Right the Lords and Commons had to be appris'd of, and consulted with in Treaties and Alliances that were of the highest Importance to the Kingdom, such especially as were in Transaction while the Parliament was sitting.

Michael

Michael de la Pole the Chancellor told both Houses, That the King perceiving how the Truce sometime ago made with *Scotland* was shortly to expire, and that none of his Subjects might be surpris'd without defence, he had sent Northward his Uncle of *Lancaster* with several other wise Men of his Council to try and feel the Pulse of the *Scots*, Whether an honourable Peace was to be had, or otherwise a Prolongation of the said Truce for some considerable time. That the Duke with others had been on the Marches of *Scotland* and had confer'd and treated with the *Scots*, and had brought the King their Relation, and Letters from his Adversary of *Scotland*, importing, That he would dispatch to *London*, Persons sufficiently Authoriz'd, and with full Power to treat of these Matters. But inasmuch, as private Men in both Countries had just and mutual Claims one upon another; and that if a Peace ensu'd there must be a considerable transferring, and translation of Rights one to the other; and more especially, for that *England* challeng'd the Superiority and Dominion over *Scotland*. All which consider'd, the Affairs seem'd

seem'd too weighty to be treated of, and finally agreed upon, any where but in Parliament: Where likewise; a provision could be made for Defence, in case a Peace or Truce were not to be had: That this alone, if there had been no other, was a sufficient Reason for the present Meeting. But he proceeded to shew other Causes; How that *England* had likewise, besides, upon its hands at once, Wars with the three most Potent Nations in Christendom, *France*, *Spain* and *Flanders*; That it was environ'd and threatned both by Land and at Sea: And then with strong Arguments proves how much more honourable and safe, it would be for *England* to Act Offensively, than Defensively. And tho' he seems to deliver this as his private Opinion, submitting to better Judgments; yet when a Chancellor spoke this, and such a Favourite as he was, and who had the Word, as this very Record says, and who was so much trusted, what he said, could possibly receive no other construction, than that both Houses were consulted from the Throne in the very manner of making War, *Rot. Parl. 7 Rich. 2. Part 1. N. 2, 3, 4.*

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The Chancellor *Michael de la Pole*, in the next Sessions of the same Parliament open'd to both Houses, How that one of the Causes of their present Assembling, was the Treaty of Peace with *France*; That a Treaty had long depended; That the Ambassadors on both sides were agreed upon certain Terms, which had been settled in the Council of both Kingdoms, of which certain Articles were ready to be laid before the Parliament at a proper time; But that the King out of a tender Love to his People, and in consideration of the great Expences they had been at during this War, would not finally conclude the Peace without their Assent and Knowledge, though he might do it, because (as 'twas conceiv'd) *France* was the King's own proper Inheritance, and not belonging to the Crown of *England*. He proceeded to say, That the King desir'd and earnestly charg'd them carefully to examine and consider the said Articles, in relation to this Treaty to Advise what was best to be done for his and the Kingdoms Honour and Advantage.

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Afterwards the Commons took notice, That they had seen the said Articles, and answer'd thus, That considering the eminent Perils which they perceiv'd to lie both ways, they neither could nor durst in any manner advise their Liege Lord expressely either to War or Peace: Albeit, that Peace, if a good one could be obtain'd, would be the greatest Comfort to them, in the World. That it seem'd to them that the King might and ought to do in this Affaire as his Noble Grace should himself best like, as of a thing that was his Crown Inheritance which descended by Royal Linage to his Noble Person, and did not belong to the Kingdom, or to the Crown of *England*. They pray him to do what his Council shall advise to be most for his Honour and Advantage, and for the greatest Comfort of his People, and for the many Dangers and Mischiefs that might happen, they pray'd to be excus'd from giving any other Answer to this Business for the present.

But upon this, the Commons were again charg'd by the King's Command to speak their Minds upon these Points thus,

thus, Do you either desire Peace or War with your Enemies of *France*? There being no midway ; for as to a Truce that may be good and advantagous to the Realm the *French*, will not consent to it. To which the Commons reply'd, They earnestly desir'd a good and honourable Peace, but that in the Articles deliver'd to them there were several Civil Law Terms which they did not clearly understand ; And further, that they had been told, how that several Lordships and Lands which the King by this Treaty was to have in the Province of *Guienne* were to be held of the Crown of *France* by Service and Homage ; but they hop'd their Leige Lord would not easily agree to hold of the *French*, by the like Service, the Town of *Caleys*, and other Lands which had been Conquer'd from the *French* by the Sword. Nor would the Commons that this should be done if there were any other way of coming off. To which was Answer'd, That for any thing that yet appear'd there was no having a Peace without holding those Lands in the said manner. Hereupon the Commons were once more requir'd to tell their Leige Lord how they would Act as to the accepting this Peace if so

it was that they were King of the Realm, or in the same Condition their King was in, and considering the many Wars which on every hand threaten'd this small Kingdom, and that the Enemies were so Confederated together, that none of 'em would have Peace or Truce without the other; and considering the great Strength and Riches of the Enemy, and the then Weakness and Poverty of this Realm. To which the Commons made Reply, That they understood how the the Lords Spiritual and Temporal had been likewise requir'd to give their Council and Advice upon the same Points, and that the said Lords had given their Answer not as Council or Advice deliver'd in this matter either for War or Peace: But that they have been told the Lords only said, That, all Mischiefs and appearing Dangerous consider'd, if they were in the King's Condition, they would rather agree to this Peace than have a War: And hereupon the Commons (with Protestation that they may not be hereafter charg'd as having Advis'd in the Matter, and that they shall not bear the blame of having Council'd one way or other) agree in their Answer with the Prelates and
Lords

Lords in every Point ; And this and no other Answer, than what the Prelates and Lords made do they give, *Rot. Parl.* 7 *Rich.* 2. *Part.* 2. *N.* 3, 16, 17, 18.

In the Fourteenth of the same Reign, The Bishop of *Worcester* open'd the Sessions who laid before the Parliament, How that a Truce had been made with *France* for a certain time, and that Persons had been sent to *Calis* to treat of Peace, and had made their Report to the King, who was to send thither a more Solem Embassy, but would not do it without the Counsel and Assent of the Lords Spirirual and Temporal, and the other Wise Men of his Council. And how that others had been dispatch'd from the King to the Borders of *Scotland* to Treat with the *Scots* about a Truce to be made by the Mediation of *France*, And that the *Scots* hitherto would not agree to the Truce, so that there was more likelihood of War than of Peace, which War the King would not undertake without the Advice and Assent aforesaid, *Rot. Parl.* 14 *Rich.* 2. *N.* 1.

In the Fifteenth of the same Reign, the Commons in full Parliament said,

If there should be any Proceedings upon a Treaty of Peace or Truce with *France*, That it seem'd to them expedient and necessary, if the King were so pleas'd, that the Duke of *Lancaster*, as being the most able Person in the Realm, should go thither to treat thereof, to which the King Assented, *Rot. Parl.* 15 *Rich .2.N.* 15.

In the Seventeenth of the same Reign there was a Peace Ratified by Authority of Parliament in these Words, “ Be it
 “ remember'd, That the King, Lords,
 “ Knights of approv'd Valour, and Ju-
 “ stices Assent in this Parliament to a
 “ Peace, So as that the King do not
 “ make Homage Leige, saving also and
 “ always the Liberty of his Person, and
 “ Crown of *England*, and of his Lieges
 “ of the same Kingdom; And so that
 “ He and his Heirs may resort and have
 “ regrefs to the Name, Title and Right
 “ of the Kingdom of *France* if the
 “ Peace shall be broken by his Adver-
 “ sary, or his Heirs; And also, that such
 “ Moderations and Modifications should
 “ be made, That no Confiscation [that
 “ is Seisure of the Dutchie of *Guienne*]
 “ might happen.

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The same Matter was given in charge to the Commons, who gave their Answer, in a Schedule deliver'd by their Speaker, to this purpose, The Commons being commanded by the King upon their Faith and Allegiance, to advise him in certain Articles between him and his Adversary of *France*: Which Articles, being read and partly understood by them, they find in 'em three Points, *viz.* Homage Leige, Sovereignty, and Refort; so weighty, that they never durst undertake to Treat of, or advise in a Matter of such Importance; of which three Points, they take themselves to be quite discharg'd, in regard, that no moderation is yet made in the said Articles; whereas, it was agreed by the King and the Lords, That Homage should be done for the Lands in *Guienne* on this Condition, that such Qualifications might be propos'd, as should be a saving to the King's Rights, and those of his People. Upon the whole matter, they referr themselves to the King and Lords, hoping, they have duly examin'd every thing, and made a carefull provision in all these Affairs: And, to have a good Peace, consent to the above-mention'd

Articles, *Rot. Parl.* 17. *Rich.* 2. N. 16, 17.

In the 20th. of this Reign, King *Richard* began to speak to his People in another manner than he himself had us'd, or than had been practis'd by his Ancestors. He was at rest from Wars Abroad, and had fortify'd himself by an Alliance with *France*, and this gave him and his Ministers hope to subvert the Constitution of *England*; which they went about in this Parliament to undermine, tho' all ended at last in their destruction. And this Year, the Speaker of the House of Commons was compell'd to discover who had brought in a certain Bill that did not please the Men in Power, because it took notice of the Expences of the Household, and of the Bishops and Ladies that follow'd the Court, *Rot. Parl.* 20. *Rich.* 2. N. 14, 15, 16. The Speaker nam'd Sir *Thomas Haxey*, who was sentenc'd to death, N. 23. And when they could make a breach upon such a fundamental, no wonder at what else was done. But to return to my present Subject.

In this Parliament, the Commons
came

came before the King and Lords, and shew'd, How they had been inform'd, That the King should hear, some Persons intended to hinder an Expedition which the King had promis'd his Father-in-law of *France*, that the Earls *Marshal* and of *Rutland* should make towards *Lombardy*, and that some had design'd to stir up the Commons to Petition the King to prevent the said Expedition and to frustrate his Royal Promise. The Commons excuse themselves in this matter, alleaging, That no such thing was ever mention'd among them : On the contrary, they thank him for the honourable Figure he intends to make on this Occasion. However, tho' they were made acquainted by the said Earls of the King's gracious Intention, that by this Expedition neither the Commons, nor the Kingdom should be in any ways bound or charg'd; yet notwithstanding, they pray, and make their Protestation, That as the King by his own Authority and Will had granted the said Expedition; so they hop'd, that by it, or by any thing which hereafter might happen upon it, they may not be made Parties, nor in any manner be endamag'd. To which, with his own mouth,
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in full Parliament, the King made this Reply, That they were not to wonder at this Expedition; and then he gave his Reasons for it: First, he had consider'd how that heretofore many Mischiefs and Distructions had happen'd by War between *France* and *England*; and upon this, believing that the greatest Good one Man could do another, to tye him the faster to him, was to help and releive him in his mishap and necessity; wherefore upon a good iutention to appease War, and to prevent the mischiefs it brings, and to the end, that this good Turn might be the occasion of Peace, and excite in his Father of *France* the greater affection to him, his Realm and People in time to come, he had made this promise: Secondly, the French King was his Cozen, and by this Alliance his Father; and upon this score, he was the more bound to do him pleasure and help him in his need: Thirdly, that he and his Father of *France*, were the two most able and Valiant Princes in Christendom, and that therefore, if they had knowledge of any King, Prince, or other Person whoever he were, that went about to overcome and destroy Christian People any were, they were bound
by

by their Duty to God, to destroy such a Tyrant and Oppressor, and to restore the Oppress'd and desolate to their former Estate.

And at the end of this Speech, he says, He will be at large and at liberty to Command his People, and send e'm in Aid of his Friends; and to dispose of his own Goods at his Will, and as often as he pleas'd, *Rot. Parl. 20 Rich. 2. N. 9.*

This is the first instance, I meet with in the Records of an English King's pretending to dispose of his People at his Will and Pleasure. The Reasons offer'd for the Aids given to *France* are plausible, to prevent Wars, and to procure a lasting Peace. But this unfortunate Prince and his Ministers had other Ends, as in the sequel appear'd. This strict Alliance, This Expedition in which the Commons were not consulted, and were not to enquire into nor contradict, These good Turns, These Helps given to *France* at a time of need, were with no other intention (as appear'd afterwards) than to secure all things on that side, to have that King and Kingdom to friend, and to be free from a Foreign War when they

they were to put in Execution their great Design of subverting the Liberties of *England*.

For the very next Year, these Ministers who had been so close and reserv'd in their Council, when they were thus sure of *France*, and as soon as by Fraud and Force they had got a Parliament to their Turn, not legally Elected, they fell in good earnest to change the Constitution: And all these Motions came from a House of Commons. So that when the Notion began to be advanc'd, That Princes might make War and Peace, undertake Expeditions, and enter into Leagues of the highest Importance without consulting their Parliaments; it was at a season when all the Laws were intended to be overthrown. The King in those days fortify'd, as he thought, by his French Alliance was resolv'd to set up for Arbitrary Power, his desperate Ministers were ready cooperate with him, the Nobility had lost all their ancient Courage and Virtue, and the House of Commons was so deprav'd, as to become the very Blood-hounds of the Court.

In the first Year of the next Reign,
which

which was that of *Henry* the 4th. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who open'd the Sessions, told both Houses, How that the Nation so abounding in Riches, had for a long time been rul'd and govern'd by Children, and the Council of young Heads, whereby it was almost brought to ruin had not God then plac'd upon the Throne a knowing and discreet Man, who by God's help would be govern'd by the wise and ancient Men of the Realm to his own and the Kingdom's help and comfort, *Rot. Parl. 1. Hen. 4. N. 2.*

In the same Sessions, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Constable of *England*, by the King's Command, shew'd before the Lords Temporal, How (as had been made known to 'em before) the King purpos'd to make War with his Enemies of *Scotland*; but that it was talk'd among some People, as if this Expedition was undertaken by the Council, and at the instance only of him the said Earl, and of my Lord *Westmoreland*, Earl Marshal. The said Earls did thereforc purge themselves, and desir'd, that the King would declare his Pleasure in this Matter. Whereupon, the King with
his

his own mouth, in full Parliament, said, that as God had sent him into this Kingdom, and given him the Crown thereof for its preservation, so he meant to undertake this Expedition in Person: and thereupon he commanded the Earl of *Northumberland* to propose the Question to have their Advice upon it; and all the Lords being severally ask'd, their Opinions, consented to it, *Rot, ibid. N. 80,*

In the Second of the same Reign, the Commons represented to the King, How they had been inform'd, that several Lords and other worthy and considerable Persons of this Kingdom had been challeng'd by the *French* by subtile Device, to what intent no Man knew. But they pray'd the King he would please to consider, That there was more appearance of War with the *French* than of Peace; That he would reflect in case of a War how much he would stand in need of Men of Wisdom, Manhood and great Fortunes, and such they were who had been thus challeng'd; That he would consider what Expence the Persons challeng'd must be at, and to what danger they expos'd themselves; They therefore pray'd

pray'd that by the Advice of his Lords in Parliament he would lay his command upon the Persons challeng'd to proceed no farther. To which the King answer'd, He would therein be advis'd by his Lords and Commons, and so manage Matters that no Reflection should be upon the Honour of the Persons challeng'd, *Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. 4. N. 12.*

In the Fourth of the same Reign, The Commons pray'd the King, since God had given him so signal an Advantage over his Enemies the *Scots*; That by the Advice and wise Council of his Lords Spiritual, and of his Honourable Council, things might be so order'd in Parliament, that the Victory might turn to God's Glory, and that the Kingdom might thereby reap some good Fruit, *Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. 4. N. 12.*

In the Eight of the same Reign, The Chancellor shew'd to the Lords, How that the King's Ambassadors had been in *Prussia* and other Parts beyond the Seas to Treat of a Peace, and that upon an Agreement there made, a Proclamation was to issue out, importing, that the Subjects of *England* were to make cer-
tain

tain Restitutions for Damages sustain'd by those Abroad: To which Proclamation the Lords agreed, *Rot, Parl. 8. Hen. 4: N. 10.*

In the same Parliament, the Speaker shewed, How that the Castle of *Man-lyon*, the Key of the three Kingdoms was in the Hands of a Foreigner, and Garrison'd by Foreigners. He there upon prays, that it may be Commanded and Garrison'd by Englishmen, *Rot. ibid. N. 57.*

Thus, this Warlike Prince, who by his Courage and Virtue, from a private Man without any true Title by descent to the Crown, came to be King of *England*, thought it no diminution of his Prerogative to Consult with, and be Advis'd by his Parliament, in Matters that were of the last importance.

In the First Year of the next Reign, which was that of *Henry V.* The Chancellor open'd the Causes, why the Parliament was Summon'd: Among other Things, he sets forth, How necessary it was, that the King's Friendships Abroad, should be cherish'd, and that provision should be made to resist his Foreign
 Enemys

Enemies, for all which it was requisite to have the good Advice of the Lords and Commons; That they were then Assembled to have their Council and Advice in the Matters aforesaid, *Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. 5. N. 2.*

The Speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards pray'd the King, that as God had endow'd him with Wisdom and many other Qualities and Virtues, that so henceforward, he would take care to see good Government maintain'd, especially in relation to the Marches of *Scotland*, the Guarding the Seas, the Town and Marches of *Caleys*, the Province of *Guyenne* and the Dominion of *Ireland*. to whom by the King's Command it was answer'd, That he should reduce these Complaints into Writing, *Rot. ibid. N. 8.*

In the Third of the same Reign, The Causes of the Parliaments meeting were open'd, That the King had lately receiv'd certain Overtures of Peace to be concluded between him and his Adversary of *France*, to which he had always apply'd himself (the Right of his Crown always fav'd) but that he would
N not

not conclude the said Peace, without the Assent and good Advice of the Estates of the Realm. It was further shew'd, that *Sigismond* King of the *Romans*, had interpos'd his Endeavours, and very much labour'd to settle Peace between *England* and *France*, out of which Kingdom he was lately arriv'd here, That the King had not yet seen his Scheme, but should be shortly made acquainted with it; at which time the King by the good Advice of his most wise Council there present might be appris'd, what would be most advantageous and honourable for him to do in the matter, *Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. 5. N. 14.*

In the Fourth of the same Reign the Chancellor told both Houses, They were now in the Sixth Parliament in which by the kind Help and Council of the Lords and Commons there present, such Effects would be produc'd, and such Exploits would be perform'd as that thereby, by God's high Grace, the dispute with *France* should be at an end; Wars should cease, and the Nation should come at lasting Peace and Quiet, *Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. 5. N. 3.*

That

That Year an Alliance between the King and *Sigismond* King of the *Romans* was Confirm'd, Approv'd of, and Ratify'd in Parliament in these Words. " Be it
 " known, That upon certain Allyances
 " between our Sovereign Lord the King
 " for Him, his Heirs and Successors Kings
 " of *England* of one Part, and the ho-
 " nourable Prince *Sigismond* King of the
 " *Romans* for Him and his Successors,
 " Kings of the *Romans* one the other
 " Part, lately enter'd into and agreed
 " upon in the Form specified in the Let-
 " ters Patents of our said Sovereign Lord
 " thereon made, and in this present
 " Parliament openly shown and declared
 " the Tenor of which here follows,
 " Henry *by the Grace of God King, &c.*
 " Our most Sovereign Lord aforesaid,
 " willing that the said Allyances may be
 " perpetual, and the Matters contain'd
 " in the said Lettes Patents having been
 " duly and solemnly debated in this Par-
 " liament with all the Archbishops, Bi-
 " shops, Dukes, Earls, Barons and all
 " others Estates Spiritual and Temporal,
 " as also the Commons of the Realm in
 " the said Parliament Assembled, By their
 " common Assent and Consent in the

“ said Parliament, and by Authorty of
 “ the same, they did Ratifie, Approve
 “ and Confirm the Alliances and Confe-
 “ derations, and all the Matters afore-
 “ said in Manner and Form as in the said
 “ Letters Patents is contain’d, as far forth
 “ as lies in our said Sovereign Lord for
 “ Him his Heirs and Successors, and here-
 “ by Ratifie, Approve and Confirm the
 “ same, *Rot. Ibid N. 14.*

This *Sigismund* was afterwards Empe-
 ror, whose only Daughter *Albert II.* of
Austria Married, from whom the present
 Princes of the *Austrian* Family are de-
 cended.

Thus *Henry V.* that Heroick King,
 thought it no diminution to his Glory,
 or lessening of his Prerogative, to Ad-
 vise with and be Advis’d by his Parlia-
 ment in Matters of Peace, War, and
 Foreign Alliances; And no doubt the
 good Understanding thereby created be-
 tween Him and his People, did not a lit-
 tle contribute to render his Reign so
 Happy and Victorious.

In the Second of the next Reign,
 which was that of *Henry VI.* There was

a Message from the House of Commons to the Duke of *Glocester*, then Protector, and the Lords then Assembled in Parliament, to thank the Duke and the Lords for having by the Chancellor communicated to them the Treaty and Matters relating to the King of *Scotland*, then in Agitation between the Lords and the *Scottish* Ambassadors, to wit for the freedom of the said King, and for taking Hostages for his Ransom, and for his Marriage, all which Matters seem to the said Commons good and advantageous to the King and Realm, if by their wise Discretions they can be brought to a good Conclusion. They pray the Lords, that they would further proceed upon the said Treaty and Matters, and by their most wise Council and Discretion bring them to a final Issue. And this done to give the Commons notice and knowledge of the said Conclusion, which would be a great Consolation and Comfort as well to them as to all the Commonalty of the Kingdom, *Rot. Parl.* 2 *Hen.* 6. N. 10.

The foresaid Treaty was enter'd upon by Authority of Parliament, and the King's Letters Patents, empowering the

Ambassadors to Treat, were ratify'd in Parliament, The Commissioners were there likewise nam'd, There Powers were there directed, and their Quorum was there appointed, *Rot. ibid. N. 27.*

In the 9th. of the same Reign, the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Glocester*, &c. were empower'd by Act of Parliament to enter upon a Treaty, and to conclude Peace with *France Spain* and *Scotland* in these words, “ That this Or-
 “ deyned and Advysed by the Lords Spiri-
 “ tuelx and Temporelx and Comyns be-
 “ yng in this present Parlement, That
 “ my Lords of *Bedford* and *Glocester*,
 “ and my Lord Cardinal, and other of
 “ the Kyngs Blood and of his Coun-
 “ seyl may trete the Pees on the Kyngs
 “ behalfe with the seyd Partyes or ony
 “ other. And yf theym thynk the me-
 “ nys of Pees offerd by that other Partyes
 “ covenable and good to the Kyng and
 “ hys Subgetz theine to receive hem
 “ And semblably to offer for the Kyng's
 “ Partye Menys that shal be thought to
 “ them covenable and expedient and by
 “ swich Menys to conclude and Ac-
 “ corde the Pees to Goddes Plesire, &c.
Rot. Parl. 9. Hen. 6. N. 18.

In

In the 14th of the same Reign, the Chancellor opening the Reasons why the Parliament was assembled, said, How that the King had receiv'd Advice from good Hands, That the Duke of *Burgundy* had struck up a Peace with the *French*, to which Interest, the said Duke now intended firmly to adhere, That the King must resolve to admit of a delusory and mock Truce, then offer'd by *France*, or determine to assert his Title to that Kingdom and the Duchie of *Normandy* with arm'd Force, That to be advis'd in these and other Matters the King had call'd them together, *Rot. Parl. 14 Hen. 6. N. 2.*

In the 23th of the same Reign, my Lord of *Suffolk* gave the House of Lords an account of his Behaviour in *France*, How he neither utter'd nor communed of the specialty of the Matters concerning in any wise the Treaty of Peace, nor of what manner of thing the same Treaty should be, but only referr'd it to our said Sovereign Lord, and to all those which he will call to him in this matter at the coming of the said Ambassadors into this

N 4 Realm

Realm, &c. And then the King gave him in Commandment to open the said matters as well to my said Lords being in this present Parliament, as to the Commons assembled in the same Parliament in their House accustom'd, &c. And he desir'd that of what he had caution'd the King and the House, an Act might be enter'd in the Parliament Roll, which was granted, *Rot. Parl. 23. Hen. 6. N. 19.*

In the same Sessions, an Act was made to repeal a Clause in an Act pass'd in the former Reign, whereby certain Articles of Peace had been ratify'd in Parliament, by which Articles it had been agreed, that neither Nation should make Peace with the *Dauphin* (afterwards *Charles VII. of France*) without the Assent of the three Estates of each Kingdom. "The King will by the Assent of
 "his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
 "the Commons of this present Parliament, that the said Article so Authorized be void *Iritte cassed adnulled*, and
 "of no Force ne Effecte, *Rot. ibid. N. 24.*

By the way, It seems the Ministers of State at that time were conscious they had

had incurr'd the danger of the Law by clapping up a Peace with *France* without Assent of Parliament, For in this Act of the 23th, of *Hen. VI.* they brought a Clause of Indemnity in these words,
 “ And that no Person, or Persons for his
 “ faithfull Council given, or to be given
 “ unto the King after the Wit and Grace
 “ that God hath list to give him, or any
 “ of them shall be impeach'd, hurt, or
 “ greved, but shall stand therefore at all
 “ days quite and discharged against hym
 “ and hys Heirs and Successors for ever-
 “ more, &c. *Ibid.*

Corrupt Statesmen will think, they have here found a very fine Precedent to be indemnify'd let them give their Master never so faithless and unsound Advice. But mark what follows.

The Commons (for it appears plain enough from the Record that the first part of the Bill began in the House of Lords, and that the two last Proviso's were incerted in the House of Commons) brought in a saving, whereby the Indemnity is restrain'd only to that Council which the Ministers had then given of making Peace with *France* without consulting

sulting the Parliament. “Saving alway
 “to the Reame of *England*, and to all
 “Leiges and Subjects thereof, their Heirs
 “and Successors, all their Liberties, Free-
 “doms, Laws, Customs and Privileges
 “that they, their Ancestors and Pre-
 “decessors have had within this Reame
 “afore this time, except the matter that
 “is compris’d in the Article abovesaid.

“And that they, and each of them
 “be demened and Governed after the
 “Laws, Usages and Customes of the
 “said Reame of *England*, and in none
 “otherwise, this Act notwithstanding.
 “Neither that ony hurt nor greve in
 “ony wise grow to the Comyn of this
 “Reame their Heires nor Successors in
 “time to come, by force of this Act nor
 “by any thing therein conteined, *Ibid.*

Without such Savings, the foremen-
 tion’d Clause had alter’d the whole Con-
 stitution of this Kingdom; for the
 Ministers might have done what they
 pleas’d, and could have come off at last,
 with saying, They acted to the best of
 their Skill and Knowledge. But ’tis evi-
 dent from this Record, that the sense of
 our Ancestors was, That they would
 have

have those who manag'd Affairs in Government, always accomptable to Parliament. And these Savings imply, that notwithstanding this Indemnity, and tho' in the instance before 'em, they pardon'd one false step, they did not mean it should be drawn into precedent, and that they would so far preserve their *Freedom, Laws, Customs, and Priviledges*, that not ony hurt nor greve might in ony wise grow to the Comyn of this Reame by force of the said Act. And that if in after-times, they gave either weak or pernicious Councils, they should answer for it, and not plead in excuse, That they had given the King Council after the Wit and Grace God had list'd to give 'em. For if they were unknowing in Affairs of State, and through notorious Ignorance err'd often, Why did they undertake great Employments? It being certainly true, That Ignorance and want of Foresight in Ministers, is as pernicious to the Commonwealth they Govern, as Malice or Corruption.

The succeeding Prince *Edward IV.* (who in a manner by his own Personal Valour wrested the Crown of *England* from the House of *Lancaster*, which for

61 Years had been in the quiet possession of it) in all important matters consulted his Parliament.

In the 7th of this Reign, the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Chancellor, by the King's command, laid before both Houses the past Condition of *England*, and the present posture of Affairs, How that before his Reign we had lost our Dominions in *France*, had Wars with *Denmark*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Brittanny*, and in other Parts, as also with our ancient Enemies the *Franch*, That the King had made all things quiet in his own Realm, That he had enter'd into a perpetual League, and concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the King of *Spain*, That he had settled Peace, and made a Treaty of Commerce with the King of *Denmark*, That he had done the same with our old Friends of *Germany*, That for L Winter there was Peace with *Scotland*, That Amity and League, with Treaty of Commerce, was settled with the King of *Naples*, That he was in a fair way of a Treaty with the King of *Arragon*, but the *Arragonian* Ministers had not their necessary Powers or Credentials, which would be soon adjusted, That he was
enter'd

enter'd into Amity and Confederation with the high and mighty Prince, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was to marry the Lady *Margaret*, the King's Sister, And also an Amity and Confederation with the Duke of *Britain*, which two Dukes, were the mightiest Princes that held of the Crown of *France*, That with his owu Purse he had born the Expence of these Treaties and Embassies, *Rot. Parl. 7. Edw. 4. N. 26.*

By the way 'tis to be observ'd, That in most of these Leagues and Confederations 'tis exprefly mention'd, That a Treaty of Commerce was likewise fettled, without which, Peace it self is hardly beneficial to a Trading Nation; for it cannot truly be call'd Peace, and is indeed, nothing but a Ceffation of Arms

The Chancellor likcwife fets forth, How that the King had labour'd all these Matters (as the Record fays) “ To diminish and leffe the Power of his old
“ and auncient Adverfary of *France* the
“ *French* King, whereby his feid High-
“ nefs fhuld mowe the lightlyer and ra-
“ rher recover his Right and Title to the
Crown

“ Crown and Lond of *Fraunce*, and Possession of the same.

“ Wherefore his seid Highness was
“ fully set and purposed with the Might
“ and Help of Almighty God and with
“ Advyse and Assistens of his Lords
“ Spirituel and Temporel and also of
“ the Comyns of this Lond to proceed
“ and perfourme hys principal Intent for
“ the Defens of this Lond that is to sey
“ to go over See into *Fraunce* and to
“ subdue hys grete Rebel and Adversory
“ *Lomes* usurpant King of the same,
“ &c.

And afterwards, “ Which Matter
“ amongst meny of the Lords Spirituell
“ and Temporell in hys Counsaile late
“ held at *Coventre* was showed and declared;
“ which Matters the Kyng’s Highness because they were then present more plener in Nombre entended
“ then to open and declare unto theym
“ by hys own Mouth and alsoo hys Intent and Disposition for the Recover
“ of hys seid Title and Right to the
“ Crown of *Fraunce* to yeve their seid
“ Advyse and Counsaile unto hym in that
“ behalfe, *Ibid.*

In

In the Thirteenth of the said Reign,
a Treaty of Commerce between the
King and the Hanze Towns of *Germany*
was Ratified in Parliament, in these Words,
“ The Kyng calling into his tendre Re-
“ membrance how that in times passed
“ unto now of late the Merchants and
“ People of the Nation of *Almayn* being
“ under and of the Confederation Ligue
“ and Company call'd the *Dutchie Hanze*
“ otherwise call'd *Merchants of Almayn*
“ having the House in *London* common-
“ ly call'd *Guildhalda Teatonicoram*, have
“ had and used free and friendly Com-
“ munication and Entrecourse of Mer-
“ chandise with his Subjetts of his no-
“ ble Ream of *Englond* and they with
“ thym to the Encrese Avayle and
“ Commoweale of both Parties, &c.

“ In Consideration whereof and to
“ thentent that by Gods Grace the Werre
“ and Hostility that hath been between
“ both Parties may utterly sease and be
“ avoided the old Friendlyhood alsoo
“ betwixt theym to be renoveled in
“ such wyse as it may abide and endure
“ for ever. By thadvyse and Assent
“ of the Lords Spirituelx and Tempo-
“ relx

“relx and the Comyns in this present
 “Parlement Affsembled and by Auctorite
 “of the same wolle of his gracious and
 “bounteous Disposition That it be Or-
 “deyned Establiſhed and Enacted That
 “noon of the ſeid Merchants, &c.

“ — — Whereunto the ſeid Merchants
 “of the Hanze by their Orators have
 “Affented and Agreed, &c. *Rot. Parl.*
13 Edw. 4. N. 2.

Some perhaps may miſtake this Record, and think, that thereby the Company's Charters only are confirm'd, but 'tis plainly otherwiſe for by theſe Words in the Roll, [*Whereunto the ſaid Mrrchants of the Hanze by their Orators have affented and agreed*] It appears there was a Treaty of Commerce in Agitation. which was Ratified in Parliament.

Richard III. in his ſhort Reign had no Foreign Wars, and ſummon'd but one Parliament.

His Succeſſor *Henry VII.* a Prince jealous enough of his Prerogative, had notwithstanding Recourſe to his Parliament

ment for their Advice, as soon as his Foreign Affairs made it necessary so to do. For when he pretended to make a War in *France* he summon'd his Parliament and spoke thus, ' My Lords and ' You the Commons when I purposed ' to make a War in *Britaine* by my Lieutenant, I made Declaration thereof to ' you by my Chancellor. But now that ' I mean to make a War upon *France* in ' Person, I will declare it to you my ' self.

Bacon's Hist. Hen. 7. p. 96.

And in the Close of his Speech he says, ' Go together in God's Name and ' loose no time; for I have call'd this ' Parliament wholly for this Cause.

And the Parliament with great Alacrity advis'd the King to undertake the War.

But now let us see what *Henry VIII.* did whose Reign was the most Arbitrary and Tyrannical that *England* ever saw.

In the Fourth of this Reign, the Session was open'd by *William Wareham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who showed, How the *French* King would do no justice,

Hollingsh. p. 812.

Grafton
P 907.

Rot. Parl.
4 Hen. 8.

stice, in restoring to the King his Right Inheritance; wherefore for lack of Justice, Peace of necessity, must be turn'd into War. In this Parliament was granted two fifteens of the Temporality, and of the Clergy two Tenths. After that, it was concluded by the whole Body of the Realm, in the high Court of Parliament Assembled, That War should be made on the *French* King and his Dominions: And an Act was thereupon made.

In the next Reign, which was that of *Edward VI.* There were Wars with *Scotland*, Disputes with the *French* about *Bulloign*, as also a Treaty of great consequence with *France* in the Year 1550, and yet we do not find the Parliament was advised with, or that either House did interpose in any of these important Matters; but all was manag'd by the Court and the Privy Council. But at the same time we are to consider, that one and the same Parliament, in that Reign, was kept sitting for five Years together; and we have hardly any instance in our History, that a House of Commons suffer'd to sit so long, was ever very careful of Publick Liberty.

In

In the next Reign, which was that of *Philip* and *Mary*, the Court took much the same measures. Nor was it indeed probable, that *Philip*, whose Father, and Great Grandfather had made themselves absolute in *Spain*, should regard the Constitution of *England*, However even in those days, the Parliament did not think themselves quite excluded from deliberating upon what concern'd the Nation. For in the Year 1553, the House of Commons desiring to turn the Queen from Foreign Councils and Aid, sent their Speaker, and twenty of their House with him, with an earnest and humble Address to her, not to Marry a stranger. But the Ministers of that Reign found a way to extinguish the Public Spirit that yet remain'd, by Bribing the most considerable of the Members with Pensions to give their Votes for the Marriage, in order to which, the Emperor *Charles V.* had sent over Twelve hundred thousand Crowns : And by these Arts, *Philip* Govern'd as he pleas'd during his stay here. And yet when dangers came to press from Abroad, we find the House of Commons consulted, For on the 7th. of November 1558, " The Queen sent for the

Hist. of the
Reform.
Part. 2. p.
261.

O 2

" Speaker

“Speaker of the House of Commons,
“and order’d him to open to them the
“ill Condition the Nation was in : For
“tho’ there was a Treaty begun at *Cam-*
“*bray*, yet it was necessary to put the
“Kingdom in a posture of Defence in
“case it should miscarry. But the Com-
“mons were now so dissatisfy’d they
“could come to no Resolution. So on
“the 14th of *November*, the Lord Chan-
“cellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of
“*Norfolk*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and
“*Pembroke*, the Bishops of *London*, *Win-*
“*chester*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, the Vis-
“count *Montacute*, the Lords *Clinton* and
“*Howard*, came down to the House of
“Commons, and sat in that place of the
“House where the Privy Councillors
“used to sit. The Speaker left his Chair,
“and he, with the Privy Councillors
“that were of the House, came and
“sat on low Benches before them. The
“Lord Chancellor shew’d the necessity
“of granting a Subsidy to defend the
“Nation both from the *French* and the
“*Scots* : When he had done, the Lords
“withdrew : But though the Commons
“enter’d both that, and the two follow-
“ing days into the Debate, they came
“to no issue in their Consultations.

In

In the next Reign, which was that of *Elizabeth*, we have no Precedents of this Nature to produce, This Princess plac'd her Hopes intirely in the Affections of her People, whom she ever courted, not by the false Arts of dark Policy, but by a steady course of good Government, and having such an absolute Dominion over their Hearts, she did what she pleas'd with both Houses of Parliament. It being notorious, that she drove at no Interest distinct from that of the Common-wealth, she was suffer'd to pursue the Measures tending to the Publick good in her own method. 'Tis certain, she now and then exerted her Authority in a manner very unwarrantable by our Constitution, especially some violations of the Priviledges of the House of Commons were conniv'd at in her, which in the most slavish times, would not have been born from any other. Respect to her Sex excus'd that haughty Temper of hers deriv'd from her Father, of which, now and then she gave notable Proofs. Several Acts of Power were not murmur'd at in her, who was known to have such right Inclinations to the Realm, that if the mad-

ness of the People had set her quite above the Laws, she would not have made an ill use even of unlimited Authority.

No wonder then, if we find her making Peace and War, and entring into Foreign Leagues and Alliances without advising with the great Council of her Kingdom, and Acting as if she had had the same Arbitrary Power here, as the Princes her Neighbours pretended to have in their Dominions. Nor are we to think it strange, that in her Reign, these Proceedings of the Court were never oppos'd nor question'd in Parliament: For 'twas evident to the whole World, that it could never enter into her Thoughts to make any Step that should hurt *England*. She never engag'd in Wars but what were unavoidable, and manag'd with Frugality; nor did she make Peace, till she had humbled and reduc'd her Enemies; nor did she enter into Alliances that were against the Honour, or that thwarted the Trade or Interest of the Nation. Her constant Course was to help the weak against the strong, so to keep the ballance of Power even. Her Leagues had no Aim
but

but to uphold and strengthen the Protestant Religion and Interest in the Low Countries, in *Germany*, and in *France*; and all her Wars were chiefly made to oppose the immoderate Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which at that time aspir'd to Universal Empire.

Besides, her Privy Council, her Ministers and Officers of State had the same Inclinations with their Mistriss, they were known Patriots, Men as honest as able, and who rose more by Merit than by Favour; such as did not plunder for themselves, but expected their Rewards from her well-govern'd Bounty. In short, She communicated the Executive Power with which she was intrusted by the Laws, to such skilfull and safe Hands, that there was no occasion for the Legislative Authority to interpose in any thing she did.

But in the next Reign, which was that of *James I.* as the Court took other Measures, so the Parliament thought it their Duty to exert themselves in another manner. This Question, Where the Right lay of making War, Peace and Alliances, was, in this Reign, brought

show'd by their Second Address, that they had been invited by the King's Speech to consider of these Matters; but they intimate plainly, that though they had not been call'd upon for their Advice, yet they had a Right to give it, in these Words, *Although we cannot conceive that the Honour and Safety of your Majesty, and your Posterity, the Patrimony of your Children invaded and possess'd by their Enemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdom, are Matters, at any time unfit for our deepest Considerations in time of Parliament, &c.* They show'd likewise, that thereby they did not intend to incroach or intrude upon the Sacred Bounds of the Royal Authority, to whom, and to whom only, they acknowledg'd it did belong, to Resolve on Peace and War, and of the Marriage of the Prince. Then they asserted Liberty of Speech in Parliament.

But the King in his Answer to this Address carries the Regal Power higher than he did in his first Message. He tells them They usurp'd upon his Royal Prerogative, and lets them know, they were call'd for nothing else but to consider of Ways and Means to raise Money for his
in-

intended War; for the Simile he makes can receive no other Interpretation. *The Difference is no greater than if we would tell a Merchant that we had great need to borrow Money from him for raising an Army; that thereupon we were bound to follow his Advice in the Direction of the War and all things depending thereupon.* He thinks it a breach of their Duty, and disrespect to the Character of Great Princes, for them to take notice that the King of *Spain* affected the Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth. As to the Prince's Match he says, They could not have presumed to determin in that without committing high Treason, and tells them 'twas a direct breach of their Duty to meddle in it, when in his Speech he had commanded to the contrary. He tells e'm, their Address contain'd the violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War: That these were unfit things to be handled in Parliament except their Prince should require it of them. That none could judge of things of that Nature, but such as were daily acquainted with the Particulars of Treaties, [and of the variable and fix'd Connection of Affairs] fine Words to blind the World with, utter'd
by

upon the Stage, and many Messages and Addresses pass'd between the King and the House upon this Subject, too long to be here repeated; but they are all to be found in *Rushworth's* Collections.

Whosoever would distinguish truly between the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People in this Case, and well understand these Points, in which the very Existence of our Constitution is so much concern'd, should carefully peruse and consider those Transactions in the House of Commons relating to the War in the *Palatinate*, because therein is comprehended the whole state of the Question.

For at that time both sides made their Claims. The Commons thought it no breach of the Prerogative, and their Right to lay before the King the state of the Nation, and to shew the danger of Religion by the *Spanish* Match, and the Apprehensions they lay under from the immoderate Growth of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and to Advise in matters of War. For they Council the King to take the Sword into his Hand: They thought they had a Right, and that it was

was their Duty to lay before him, How this War might be best carry'd on, not in a lingring manner to confume our Wealth and Strength without any good effect; but they rather desire that the Bent of the War, and the Point of his Sword, might be directed against that Prince whose Armies and Treasure were most dangerous to *England*.

On the other hand, the King thought it a breach of his Prerogative for the House of Commons to Argue and Debate publickly of Matters, which (in his angry Letter to the Speaker) he says, were above their Reach and Capacity, and therefore forbids them to meddle with any thing concerning his Government or deep Matters of State. Nor must the *Spanish Match*, nor the Growth of *Spain* be touch'd upon. And tells them plainly, He thought himself free and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament [that is freedom of Speech in the House] as well during their Sitting as after.

But the House of Commons were no wise daunted with this Message, and continued to assert their Right. They show'd

show'd by their Second Address, that they had been invited by the King's Speech to consider of these Matters; but they intimate plainly, that though they had not been call'd upon for their Advice, yet they had a Right to give it, in these Words, *Although we cannot conceive that the Honour and Safety of your Majesty, and your Posterity, the Patrimony of your Children invaded and possess'd by their Enemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdom, are Matters, at any time unfit for our deepest Considerations in time of Parliament, &c.* They show'd likewise, that thereby they did not intend to incroach or intrude upon the Sacred Bounds of the Royal Authority, to whom, and to whom only, they acknowledg'd it did belong, to Resolve on Peace and War, and of the Marriage of the Prince. Then they asserted Liberty of Speech in Parliament.

But the King in his Answer to this Address carries the Regal Power higher than he did in his first Message. He tells them They usurp'd upon his Royal Prerogative, and lets them know, they were call'd for nothing else but to consider of Ways and Means to raise Money for his
in-

intended War; for the Simile he makes can receive no other Interpretation. *The Difference is no greater than if we would tell a Merchant that we had great need to borrow Money from him for raising an Army; that thereupon we were bound to follow his Advice in the Direction of the War and all things depending thereupon.* He thinks it a breach of their Duty, and disrespect to the Character of Great Princes, for them to take notice that the King of *Spain* affected the Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth. As to the Prince's Match he says, They could not have presumed to determin in that without committing high Treason, and tells them 'twas a direct breach of their Duty to meddle in it, when in his Speech he had commanded to the contrary. He tells e'm, their Addrefs contain'd the violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War: That these were unfit things to be handled in Parliament except their Prince should require it of them. That none could judge of things of that Nature, but such as were daily acquainted with the Particulars of Treaties, [and of the variable and fix'd Conection of Affairs] fine Words to blind the World with, utter'd
by

by a King, but not to be understood by any Private Man. He tells them, If they go to pare his Prerogative he must retrench their Priviledges. But he seems to lay most weight upon this, That the House should contradict themselves in their Address by meddling in the War and the Match, and yet Protesting they intended not to press upon his most undoubted and Regal Prerogative, with which they confess'd they ought not to meddle.

But he who penn'd this Speech for the King did play the Sophister; for it cannot be inferr'd from any Words in the Address, that the Commons give up the Point, 'Tis true they acknowledg'd, *That to the Royal Authority, and to that only, it did belong to resolve on Peace and War, and the Marriage of the Prince.* But there is a great deal of difference between the Words *Authority*, and *Prerogative*.

The Prince has his Authority from the Laws, and in all Governments where there remain to the People any Civil Rights, the Authority of the Prince is circumscrib'd by Laws. But Prerogative
is

is something of a higher Nature. 'Tis a Power intrusted with him to Act where the Laws are silent, and sometimes to Act even against the Written Letter of the Law. As for Example, upon a sudden Invasion he can burn Houses, destroy Forage, remove or spoil Corn, and lay a whole Frontier Province waste, thereby to distress his Enemy, and to prevent his Marching further. And for the same reason upon such an Occasion, he may Arm all his People, and compel them to defend their Country; and if in doing this, he is forc'd to commit any Act seemingly irregular, he is justified by the Necessity. However he cannot be said to do this by his Authority; for the Laws allow him not to injure any Man in his Property, nor to enforce the Service of his Subjects. He does it then by his Prerogative. And 'tis for the good of the Whole, that such a Power should be lodg'd in him to exercise it upon a great Emergency; for where the Resolution must be so sudden that he cannot call the Peoples Representatives together to have their consent, the Whole might be ruin'd, if he were not intrusted with the Power at such a season to over-rule the Written Law, it being

ing absurd to imagin, There should be any Form of Government that is hindered by the Laws from preserving it self. But if this Prerogative were extended to every common Case, or if it were allow'd to Act without the Peoples Consent where their Consent may be had, there would be an end of Liberty.

And upon these, or the like Reasons 'tis more than probable the House of Commons proceeded when they said in their first Address, That by advising to take his Sword in his Hand, *They did not intend to press upon his undoubted Regal Prerogative*; for Prerogative was out of the Question, which is to Act only upon extraordinary Cases. And upon the like Account 'tis to be presumed they said in their Second Address, *That to the Royal Authority, and to that only, it belong'd to resolve on Peace and War, &c.* Resolutions of War or Peace are part of the Executive Power, which is in the Prince, and in him it is to resolve on War or Peace, as he is the Head of the Common-Wealth, and Leader of our Armies; but it does not appear in our Constitution (at least by the antient and almost uninterrupted Practice of it) that he has this in any other

other manner than all the other Parts of the Executive Power are vested in him, which is in trust for the whole.

He is Head of the Church. He has the Execution of Justice. To Him is intrusted the Protection of Trade, and he has the Administration of the Public Revenues. However none will deny but in all these Matters the Lords and the Peoples Representatives have a Right to Advise in Parliament.

Even before the Reformation, our Kings had a great sway in Ecclesiastical Matters, and yet we find, when there was a Schism in the Church, *Anno* 1378. about a double choice of Popes, viz. *Urban* the VI. and *Clement* the VII. *Urban* was acknowledged in *England* by * *Rot. Parl.* Authority of * *Parliament* to be true 2 *Rich. 2.* and rightful Pope, as *Clement* was own'd Part I. in *France*. All our *Parliament* Rolls are N. 78. full of Petitions and Complaints concerning the Governments neglect in Relation to Trade, and the Peoples Representatives thought themselves not only free to complain, but free to propose ways how the Greivances might be redress'd. We have innumerable Presidents how

how far that part of the Executive Power that relates to the Execution of Justice, and the Administration of the Public Revenues, has been look'd into, and severely animadverted upon in Parliament, and yet none will pretend to say, this was intrenching upon the Royal Authority, unless it be such, whose Principles lead them to think, that the worst Actions of the worst Ministers are to be without Comptrol.

As our Princes have the Executive Power in e'm, so the People from very antient Times have had a Right to Assemble by their Representatives in Parliament (how often shall not be here argued) and they are call'd to Advise in the important Matters of Government. When they are thus Assembled, they are a part of the Legislative Authority, whose Business has always been to enquire into, and correct the Errors and Abuses committed by those upon whom the Prince has devolv'd any part of the Executive Power. And if Ministers of State advise an unnecessary War, a dishonourable Peace, or a dangerous Alliance, they are as much accomptable to Parliament, as for any other Neglect or Crime

Crime in the Administration of Affairs.

So that tho' to the Prince, and to him only (as having the Executive Power) it belongs to Resolve on Peace and War; yet the Legislative Authority has therein so far a Right, as to interpose with its Advice, for the King and Kingdom's Safety, pursuant to which, our Kings and their Parliaments have all along Acted, as we have shown by a great number of Instances; and this Fundamental Right and no more did the Commons in 1621. assert.

Nor did an angry Message from the Throne frighten an honest *English* Parliament from continuing their Claim to this Priviledg, which they thought their Birthright and Inheritance, and which they again Asserted by these Words in the Protestation enter'd in their Journals, *That the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of Laws, and redress of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and Matter of Council and Debate in Parliament.*

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However this old Prince liked rather to follow the Dictates of his own Will, or the pernicious Advice of his Favourites and Ministers than the faithful, and disinterested Council of his Parliament. He entertain'd secret Hopes, that so Potent an Alliance, as that with *Spain* appear'd to be, would make him more Powerful over his own People, and the Whispers of *Gundamore* the *Spanish* Ambassador weigh'd more with him, than the Representations of his Lords and Commons. But at last all this prov'd fatal to him and his Posterity. By his rough dealing with the House of Commons he sow'd the Seeds of that Discontent which ended in the Ruin of his Son. The Commons desired three things, That the War in the *Palatinate* should be persued; That the Match with the Infanta should not proceed; That the Young Prince should not Marry with any other Papist, all which at Court was term'd Intrenching upon the Prerogative. But what follow'd? His Children were dispoil'd of the *Palatinate*: He was deluded and baffled in the *Spanish* Match; And his Son's Marrying with a Papist has prov'd the Occasion

caſion that in our Days, the Scepter is departed from his Iſſue Male.

But to return to our preſent Matter. The neceſſity of this King's Affairs at laſt obliged him to call another Parliament, and to them he began to ſpeak in an other manner.

Anno Dom. 1623. & Regni Jac. 21. 19. die Feb. the Sefſions began, and the King ſpoke thus, “I have Affembled
“you at this time to impart to you a
“Secret and Matter of great Importance,
“as can be to my State, and the State
“of my Children: Wherein I crave
“your beſt and ſafeſt Advice and Coun-
“cil, according as the Writ, whereby you
“were Affembled imports, *That the King would adviſe with you in Matters concerning his Eſtate and Dignity, &c.*

And by Advice of Parliament an end was put to the ſtrict Alliances with *Spain*, then judg'd dangerous, and the Match with the Infanta was broken off which had ſo long depended.

In the Reign of King *Charles I.* there were but little Foreign Tranſactions.

This Prince at his first Accession to the Throne, was the very Idol of the Nation, whose Affections he could never have lost, if he had not unfortunately chosen to put his trust in Private Councils. He himself was without doubt a Man of virtuous Inclinations. devout in his Religion, and of just Principles, but he found a deprav'd set of Ministers and Courtiers, who had been long us'd to lead their Master which way they pleas'd. And it was They, not He, who had a different Interest from the People, who truly speaking, can never have any aim but to be well Govern'd.

The Creatures of meer Favour, the Engrossers of Monopolies, the common Robbers of the Publick, such as design'd to rise in Church and State by advancing new Notions of Government. They who had neither Parts nor Merit, and indeed nothing to recommend themselves to Power and the Administration of Affairs, but a servile and constant Resolution of doing whatever they should be commanded. These and the like could not have found their Accompt in a good Agreement between the King and Parliament. It was therefore their Business
to

to create an ill Understanding between him and his House of Commons.

By the War in the *Palatinate* the Crown was indebted 502,000 *l.* besides 400,000 *l.* that was needfull for the current Service, which may be thought small Summs now, but they were then reckon'd a heavy Burthen; these Occasions brought on the necessity of calling a Parliament, which met the 18th of June 1625. The King open'd to both Houses the present State of his Affairs Abroad, and my Lord Keeper began his Speech thus, ' That the King's main Reason of
' calling the Parliament, besides the be-
' holding of his Subjects Faces, was to
' mind them of the great Engagements
' for the recovery of the *Palatinate* im-
' pos'd on his Majesty by the late King
' his Father, and by themselves who
' brake off the two Treaties with *Spain*.
' Also to let them understand, That the
' succeeding Treaties and Alliances, the
' Armies sent into the Low Countries,
' the repairing of the Forts, and the for-
' tifying of *Ireland* do all meet in one
' Center, the *Palatinate*. And that the
' Subsidies granted in the last Parliament
' are herein already spent, whereof the

‘Accompt is ready, together with as much
‘more of the King’s own Revenue,
‘&c.

If things had been so managed by the Ministers during this Reign, as that Parliaments might have been consulted this King had made a considerable Figure in *Europe*, and might have held the Balance as his Predecessors had done. For from 1625. *France* and *Spain* were wrestling together which should be the Superior Nation. In 1630. there were VVars between *Sweden* and *Germany*. In 1631. the *French* were enterprising upon *Italy* and *Lorrain*; and in 1636. open VVar was declared between *France* and the House of *Austria*. And all along the *Netherlands* had their Hands full either upon their own accompt, or as they were Parties in these VVars. And in short all *Europe* was so Engag’d and Embroyl’d, that the Court here was not apprehensive of any Foreign Danger. This made them the bolder to proceed in subverting our Civil Rights, especially that Fundamental one of raising Money, which they had put into a fix’d way of obtaining without Authority of Parliament by the VVrits of Ship Mony.

But

But instead of this conduct, if Parliaments could have been call'd and advis'd with, and if *England* had concern'd it self in these Foreign Affairs with a full Assistance from the People, it had greatly tended to the Honour and Safety of the Realm, and to the strengthening of the Protestant Interest Abroad.

In the Reign of King *Charles* II. the Question I have been here Treating of, came to be as warmly agitated as it was in the Reign of King *James* I. The King Asserted, That the sole Right of making Peace and War lay in him. The Commons on the contrary Represented, That Parliaments had a Right to be consulted in matters that relate to Peace, War and Alliances. It would be too tedious to insert all the Speeches, Messages, Addresses and Answers that pass'd between the King and his Commons upon this Subject. I shall therefore only set down the Heads of this Matter, desiring the Reader for his further satisfaction, to have recourse to the Journals of the House of Commons.

In the Year 1664, The Parliament
Advis'd a War with *Holland*, the Court
P 4 desir'd

desir'd it, and it was then thought no In-
croachment upon the Regal Authority.
In 1673. When the whole Nation
began to look into the Designs and ill
Consequence of a *Dutch* War, tho' Mini-
sters were accus'd for engaging the King
in it without Advice of Parliament, and
tho' afterwards in direct Terms, both
Houses advis'd the King to a Peace, we
do not find this resented from the
Throne. In 1676, the first motions of
both Houses towards a stricter Alliance
with the Confederates, and leading to a
War with *France*, the Court hop'd might
be stifled, or eluded, and therefore that
Address was kindly taken. And yet it
contain'd these words, *As soon as the Al-
liances were signify'd in Parliament, they
would give him such Aids, &c.* But in
1677, when the whole Nation was a-
waken'd, when the strict Correspon-
dence between King *Charles* and *France*
became suspected, when the Commons
were thoroughly alarm'd with the Ap-
prehensions of that formidable Power,
and when they appear'd in earnest to de-
fire a preventive War; then this Prero-
gative is asserted, and the Ministers pre-
vail'd to put into the King's Mouth the
roughest Words imaginable. *That in no
Age*

Age the Prerogative had been so dangerously invaded. 'Tis true, the Discontents, an abrupt Prorogation had begot, compell'd the Court next Session to begin in milder Terms: But neither Threats nor Flattery could induce the Commons to depart from their Rights; and they so far intermeddl'd in matters of Peace and War, as to advise the King, not to make any Peace, but such as should reduce the *French* to the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. This pressing still upon *France*, the Ministers again suggest an Angry Answer, and the Prerogative is as highly insisted on as before; but the Commons were so far from thinking themselves in the wrong, that in a few Days they Adress'd to him, to recall and send away Ambassadors; and immediately to Declare, Proclaim, and enter into an Actual War. In 1678, worse Designs were in the Forge and upon the Anvil, The subversion of our Religion. However, my Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, who had no participation in those dark Councils; open'd Matters fairly, and gave an Account of what Leagues and Treaties were perfected, or in agitation and declar'd, That the King desir'd the Advice of his Parliament therein.

And

And the Commons thought themselves so far to have the Right of interposing with their Advice in matters of Peace, War and Alliances, that they desir'd to see these Leagues and Treaties, which was granted. But when the League Offensive and Defensive with *Holland*, came to be examin'd, they found it not pursuant to their Address, nor consistent with the safety of the Realm. They desir'd, He would enter into the Alliances with the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the other Confederates; nor were they yet perswaded, they intrench'd upon any Right of the Crown when they laid this Advice before the King; but it suited not with the Projects than a-foot: However, the Prerogative was not then insisted on; but the Ministers had recourse to another Evasion, and made the King say, That having ask'd the Advice of both Houses, he would take no Resolution without the Lords concurrent Advice.

Thus the Court (when any thing press'd upon *France*) held up this Prerogative as a shield, which they laid aside as often as they saw occasion, but still they claim'd by Words only, without

out giving any Precedent or proof, and in Fact receded; whereas, the Commons in no instance yeild up the Point, urging constant Practice: And they did not only make a Claim, but asserted their Right by Overt-acts; in their Addresses actually Advising the King in all the matters now in Question.

And as a further Vindication of their Right, they Address to the King to Remove, Whom? *Those Councillors who had advisd these Answers*; that is, those Ministers who had perswaded him, That his Commons had no Right to Advise him in Affairs wherein the King, they themselves, and the whole People whom they Represented, were so much concern'd.

So that the Address here last recited, brings this whole Question into a narrow compass. The Ministers suggested to the King in a clandestine manner, That by advising the Alliance with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the united Provinces, and the War with *France*, the Commons had invaded his Prerogative of making Peace and War; whereas, as they themselves Answer, They did
only

only offer their humble Advice in Matters where the Safety of the Kingdom was concern'd, a Right, as they say, never question'd by his Predecessors. And tho' the Commons had admitted, that a King acting in those Matters, acted by his Prerogative (tho' in truth, he rather Acts by his Royal Authority: Prerogative being something above the Law) yet their Deeds had not been inconsistent with this Concession, and are to be reconcil'd by this Principle, to wit, That declaring War, concluding Peace, and Signing or Ratifying Alliances, are Acts requiring the Personal performance of some one or more, and consequently must be vested in the Executive Power, but that this does not exclude any part of the Legislative Authority from interposing with their Advice in all these Matters, as they shall see occasion. However in their Address of the 25th of May, 1677, The Commons declar'd, *That they conceiv'd it not agreeable to the Usage of Parliament, to grant Supplies for maintenance of Wars and Alliances before they are signified in Parliament.* And they say further, *From which Usage, if we should depart, the Precedent might be of dangerous Consequence in future Times.* If this
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be the ancient Constitution, as undoubtedly it is, what can be the meaning of the Words, *signify'd in Parliament?* Are the Acts and Instruments only to be read before the Commons to please Curiosity, and for News, and are they then to open their Purfes? If that be the Case, our Claim to be a Free People is but weakly founded. But if Leagues and Treaties are to be signified to 'em for any purpose at all, it must be because they have a deliberative Voice, and may judge and accordingly Advise their Prince, That such a War is destructive; such a Peace is dishonourable; and such an Alliance dangerous, And upon these Grounds, they thought themselves not in the wrong to advise against the VVar with *Holland*, to oppose the Peace Treated at *Nimmeghen*, and to Vote the League Offensive and Defensive with the States General, not to have been pursuant to their Address, nor consistent with the safety of the Realm: And if by the Constitution of this Government they might do so, of which they had Precedents almost in every Reign, it follows by an inevitable Chain of Consequences, That both Houses have a Right to be consulted in the Beginning concerning those

those Important Affairs upon which in the Conclusion they must determine.

I have here given an Account of every Reign since *William* the *Norman* downwards to our own times; And I have produc'd undeniable Precedents, That almost in every Reign the Barons, while the Property center'd chiefly in them, or the People by their Representatives, have been all along consulted in all difficult Points, and in all the Important Matters of Government; especially in making War and Peace, or Alliances, with the Realm of *France*. King *John* did indeed take other Measures, but 'tis notorious what a subvertor of Publick Liberty he was; and *Richard III.* as I have noted before, had no Foreign Wars.

Whoever looks over the Histories of the Twelve Centuries that follow'd the Subversion of the *Roman* Empire (whose final Period some place in the Year of our Lord 412. about which time several New Monarchies began to be erected upon its Ruins) will find that not only in *England*, but in all the Nations of *Europe*, Princes acted both in Peace

Peace and in VVar by the Concurrent Advice of their People, and that this Course was every where observ'd, as long as the *Gothic* Constitutions and Governments continued.

But about the latter end of the Fifteenth Century the Face of Affairs began to change in most Kindoms, and the Ballance of Property (which ever carries along with it the Ballance of Power) began almost every where to alter.

For Pomp and Expence (which were unknown to the *Northern* Nations by whom the *Romans* were Supplanted) began again to prevail in the VWorld, whereby the Nobility of each Kingdom was not only Effeminated, but Impoverish'd. The Riots, Costly Apparel, Rich Equipages, Fine Buildings, the Luxuries introduc'd by Foreign Trade, the Feasts and Masques with the other Vanities of a Court, all which began about that time, did drive the Lords and great Men of most Countries into such immens Debts that they were forc'd to sell their Estates, and with their Property they
lost

lost that dependence the Common People had upon them.

In the *Gothic* Constitutions the strength of a Nation consisted of such as immediately liv'd upon the King's own Lands, and were bound to fight his Battles, and of such who by their Tenures were bound to follow their Lords into the Field, the King could command his own Tenants, and those who held of him in chief to attend him in his Wars for such a term of Time, and likewise had a Right to summon the Lords and Great Men to attend him with their Vassals and Dependents. And while things stood thus, Princes never pretended to make War or Peace without the Advice and Assent of the whole.

But when they had wasted and Granted away the Demesnes of the Crown, and when the Barons had sold their Estates, or chang'd the Service due by Tenure into a Rent certain, they began to Govern in another manner.

First they corrupted the higher Nobility, quite exhausted by their Expences, with Commands and Offices, they

they did the same by the Lower Degree, or those whom we call Gentry. And then they prevail'd upon both Ranks to settle upon 'em Taxes and new Impositions, whereby they might maintain Standing Troops, and Mercenary Armies. And when this was done, and not before, Flatterers began to Assert this Prerogative of making War, Peace and Alliances to be in the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and the Practices has been accordingly.

For when a Prince has a Revenue granted to him large enough to wage War without the Purses of his People, or when he has so overthrown the Laws of his Country, that he raises Money without their Assent, 'twould be a ridiculous Condescension in him (and such a one as a wise Nation would think themselves therein insulted) if he should call upon 'em for their Advice in Matters relating to War and Peace. And indeed, soon after these Changes were made in the *Gothic* Constitutions which have been here mention'd, Princes began to lay aside the use of all Public Councils in which the People were Represented, and to Govern their Business

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both

both of War and Peace by the Advice of Ministers, or what we now call a Cabinet Council.

But where the Nation is to bear the burden of a War, where 'tis to feel the dismal Effects of an unsound and precarious Peace ; and where no Money can be rais'd to support Wars or Alliances, but by common Consent ; 'twere an Absurdity in Government to imagin, that Matters of this Nature (upon which the Welfare or Ruin of the whole depends) should be Transacted without the Advice or Assent of Parlements.

This Right of being Advis'd with in all Important Affairs (which our Ancestors from the beginning of this Government stood possess'd of) having its Foundation in Property ; it follows, that it must remain with those in whom the Property is vested ; unless any Man can shew, the People have lost it by misfure, non-usure, or for want of putting in a sufficient Claim.

Henry VII. as many Writers have observ'd, made the first material Change in our Constitution, by giving way to Laws where-

whereby the Ballance of Property came to be on the Peoples side, such as were his Laws for Population, against Retainers, and for Alienations; for before his Time, without Dispute, the Church and the Temporal Barons were more weighty than all the rest. And in Matters of War and Peace, and in all Affairs of high Consequence, till that Reign, the House of Peers seems chiefly to have been consulted.

His Son *Henry VIII.* went yet farther towards altering the ancient Ballance of Property, by putting into the Hands of Laymen the Church Lands, which by an Estimate upon Record, were in the Reign of *Richard II.* valued at one third part of the Kingdom.

* Vide Rot.
Parl. 4 Rich.
2. N. 13.

These Princes by so doing, did undoubtedly lay the Foundations of that Foreign Traffick and Wealth which *England* has since enjoy'd, For Trade could never have flourish'd in a Country where so large a proportion of the Land remain'd unalienable in the Possession of the Church, and of the Temporal Barons. But at the same time, it must be granted, that these measures tended in the future,

to lessening the Regal Power, which is never so safe, and so well skreen'd, as by a Powerful Clergy, and by a Rich Nobility.

* *Oceana.*
Pag. 69.

Mr. *Harrington* goes so far as to say, That *Henry VII.* quite overturn'd the ancient Government of *England*, by weakening the Authority of the Lords. His words are, "This King through his natural Subtilty, reflecting upon the greatness of their Power, and the inconstancy of their Favour, began to find another flaw in this kind of Government, which is also noted by *Ma-chiavel*; namely, That a Throne supported by a Nobility, is not so hard to be ascended, as kept warm. Wherefore his secret Jealousy, lest the Dissension of the Nobility, as it brought him in, might throw him out, made him Travel in ways undiscover'd by them, to Ends as little foreseen by himself: VVhile to establish his own Safety, he by mixing Water with their Wine, first began to open those sluices that have since overwhelm'd not the King only, but the Throne. In another place he goes so far as to attribute the Cause and Event of the last Civil War

War to those Councils. His Words are.
 “ For the House of Peers which alone
 “ had stood in this Gap, now sinking
 “ down between the King and the Com-
 “ mons, shew’d that *Crassus* was dead,
 “ and the *Isthmus* broken. But a Mo-
 “ narchy divested of its Nobility, has
 “ no Refuge under Heaven but an Army.
 “ VVherefore the Dissolution of this
 “ Government caus’d the VVar, not the
 “ VVar the Dissolution of this Gover-
 “ ment.

But though this Prince (who came
 in partly by Election of the People,
 and might therefore perhaps desire to
 make himself and this Constitution a lit-
 tle more Popular) did thereby impare
 the Condition of his Successors, yet the
 Change was not presently felt. And he
 himself by his Thrift, Courage and deep
 Wisdom did so order his Affairs, as du-
 ring his whole Reign to make a very
 great Figure throughout all *Europe*.

He began his Reign in the latter end
 of the Fifteenth Century, viz. *Anno*
Dom. 1485. by which time *Lewis XI.*
 had begun to enslave *France*. In the same
 Age the Male Line of the House of *Bur-*

gundy was extinguished, whose Powerful Dominions had always been jealous of their own, and Friends to the Liberties of other Nations, till the time of their last unfortunate Duke, who arrogated to himself more Power than his Predecessors had ever claim'd. In that Age likewise *Ferdinand* by uniting the Realms of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and by the Conquest of the *Indies*, had made himself so great as to be indeed above the Laws of his Country; so that in those Days there seem'd a Disposition in most of the considerable Princes in *Europe* to set up for Arbitrary Power, and to lay aside the Custom of Advising with their People. 'Tis true indeed, that since these Times the Three Estates of *France* have been sometimes Assembled, and the Cortez of *Spain* have met, but depriv'd of their Antient Authority; so that we have good reason to lay down that the old Form of Governing is much alter'd since the latter end of the Fifteenth Century.

The *Germans* only seem to have kept up to their old Constitution in their Publick Assemblies, or General Diets, as they call 'em, wherein are handled all Matters relating

relating to Peace, War, Taxes, Leagues, Alliances, the Abrogation of old, and the Enacting of new Laws, the Coin, and all other things that concern the Common-Wealth, the Right of the whole, and the Majesty of the Empire.

As *Thuanus* tells us, **Verum quæ ad Imperii Majestatem Rempublicam, & Jus universorum pertinent ut cum de Pace, de Bello, de Tributis in Communis Belli sumptibus imponendis de Fæderibus, de Sociis, de Legum Latione Abrogatione aut Interdictione, de Moneta & ceteris hujusmodi Rebus agitur, de iis in ordinum Comitibus (Diætas vocant quæ, quo loco & Tempore Commodum videtur, indicare Imperatori Jus est deliberatur.* But in other Countries, for some Years, Parliaments were hardly call'd for any other purpose, but to lay Taxes upon the People: For from the Fourth of *Henry VIII.* I do not find Parliaments consulted in the difficult and arduous Business of the Realm for some Years, but at last, as has been shown, the People did renew their Claim to this Antient Right, and in times which were not obnoxious to any Censure.

Thuan.
Hist. Lib.
2. Tom. I.
p. 36.

In the Reign of *Henry VIII.* the Balance of Property, which is the Balance of Power, was not yet fix'd, nor

are the Effects of ſuch a great change in Property, as his Father had made, immediately discern'd. 'Tis true, the Lords had loſt Ground, but 'twas the King, not the Houſe of Commons that had got it. That Power which was heretofore in this Conſtitution divided between the Prince, the Lords, and the Church, came at laſt to center all in the Crown: for *Henry VIII.* what with the VVealth left him by his Father in ready Money, which was an immense Summ, and what with the Church and Crown Revenue had ſuch a Property in himſelf, or the diſpoſal of ſuch a Property, as made him intirely Maſter of both Houſes; And accordingly, we ſee he brought Parliaments to Enact what Laws, to give what Taxes, to cut off what Perſons, and to make what Attenders he pleaſed: No wonder then, if he was allow'd to Tranſact his Foreign Affairs, according to his own VVill and Pleaſure.

In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* the Houſe of Peers, which heretofore had ſo large a Sway and Power, was again depreſs'd. For as Mr. *Harrington* very finely obſerves, “ *Henry VIII.* by diſſolving the Abbies, brought with the declining

“ declining State of the Nobility, so vast
“ a Prey to the Industry of the People,
“ that the Ballance of the Common-
“ Wealth was too apparently in the
“ Popular Party, to be unseen by the
“ wise Council of Queen *Elizabeth*, who
“ converting her Reign through the per-
“ petual Love Tricks that pass’d between
“ her and her People into a kind of Ro-
“ mance, wholly neglected the Nobili-
“ ty. But the Power which the Lords
had lost still continued in the Crown;
for this Princess may be said, to have
Govern’d with Arbitrary and Absolute
Authority, even by the Consent of the
People, by having had the skill to
make the Commons pleas’d with all her
Actions. Besides, in her time the Bal-
lance of Property was not as yet fully
settled, the Acts of *Henry VII.* had not
yet had their intire Operation, the Lords
still held very large Possessions, Trade,
which did not begin to flourish till to-
wards the latter end of her Reign, had
not as yet divided the Lands of *England*
into many Hands. The Ballance of
Property therefore remaining unfix’d,
we are not to wonder, that neither the
Lords nor Commons claim’d any Par-
ticipation of Power; nor to be con-
sulted

sulted in the high Affairs of Government, such as are War, Peace, and Foreign Alliances. The Lords indeed, had lost what they pretended to ; but it was not yet devolv'd upon the Commons.

But towards the latter end of King *James* I. an extended Trade had fix'd this Ballance of Property ; the Church Lands, a great part of the Crown Lands, and the large Possessions of the Barons, came to be divided among the People. And as soon as this was done, we find the Commons claiming a Right to be advis'd with, in matters relating to War, Peace and Alliances ; the Consequences of which, were to affect their Land. While the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, had in a manner all the Land, and all the Power, they chiefly were consulted ; but when the largest share of all this, came into the Hands of the People, and when in the Reign of King *Charles* II. the remainder of the Crown Lands were Alienated, and when Military Services were determin'd, the Commons thought they had yet a further Right to interpose with their Councils, since at their Expence chiefly, Peace was to be preserv'd,
Alli-

Alliances were to be maintain'd, and Wars were to be supported.

If it would not swell the Work to much, I could show, that the same has been for many Ages practis'd in *France, Spain, Denmark* and *Sweden*: For if it be well examin'd 'twill be found, that there is no essential difference in any of the Forms of Government establish'd by the Northern Nations after they had subverted the *Roman* State, For being Erected by Men almost of the same Climate, Temper and Inclinations, they could not but resemble one another. These new Principalities, did not stand upon the same Foundation with the old Monarchies of the World; where one Man having by Force or Consent obtain'd Sovereign, sway over a few at first, afterwards with their help proceeded by Conquest to enlarge his Dominion, till at last, he had erected to himself a mighty Empire with unlimited Authority.

They who descended from these ancient Lords of the Earth, or who succeeded to their Rule, might in a long Course of time think they had prescrib'd upon the Rights of Humane kind,
and

and consequently believe themselves not bound by any Law, nor oblig'd either in War or Peace to follow the Advice of any ; and that they were left at liberty in all matters whatsoever, to pursue the Dictates of their own Will and Pleasure. But it was not so with the *Goths*, and such of the *Germans* who left their own Country to seek new Seats : They did not make their hazardous Migrations and blindly follow Cheifs and Leaders without any Conditions. On the contrary, 'tis evident from History, that they who accompany'd the Princes that made those Expeditions from the North assisted with Men and Mony in the Enterprize and were to participate both as to Propetty in the Land, and as to Authority in Governing the Territories and Dominions which with their joint Forces they purposed to Invade. There was, what we now call, an Original Compact among 'em, That the Prince and his Great Men should have the principal Sway; but that each Degree of the People should be fenc'd against the Oppressions of Power with certain stated Rights and Priviledges. Nor can it be imagin'd, that Men should be so destitute of Reason, as to quit their Native Soil, and
ex-

expose themselves to so many Dangers in Fighting for every Foot of Ground they were to gain, if they had no better a Prospect before 'em, than, **That** they and their Posterity were in all future Ages to be Slaves.

This would have been a slender encouragement for Men to undergo the infinite Perils that attend the Invaders of an Arm'd and well Peopled Country, But 'tis apparent, these Adventurers (who Planted in *Gaul, Spain, Burgundy, Normandy, Lombardy, England,* and other Parts, indeed, they possess'd themselves of all the best Provinces of *Europe*) went out upon better Terms, and if it had been otherwise we should have met in History with some Absolute Monarchy founded by them; of which no single Instance can be given. On the contrary, we no sooner read of their having Conquer'd any Country, so as to fix in it, but at the same time, or in a few Years after, we find good and wholesome Laws Establish'd, such as did set due Bounds between the Liberties of the People, and the Princes Power.

The End of the Second Essay.

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UPON
Universal Monarchy.

ESSAY III.

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Universal Monarchy.

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 Universal Monarchy.

ESSAY III.

THO the Wisdom of Man, his Foresight, his Policies, and his Bodily Strength, be confin'd to Narrow Limits, yet his Ambition extends very far, if it is not unbounded : his good Inclinations are likewise few and short, but his irregular and bad Appetites know no End : And albeit he is to Act so brief a Part here, he conceives high Thoughts,

he heaps Riches upon Riches, he desires to add Dominion to Dominion, and lays remote Designs, as if his Corporal Substance were as immortal as his Soul.

Not only Private Men covet to joyn Mannor to Mannor, with an endless view of Increasing, but Commonwealths also, where one would imagine the Collective Wisdom should think and devise for the best, endeavour to Conquer Province after Province, and Act as if they were always to continue, hoping by good Government to render themselves perpetual; but while Commonwealths thus extend their Limits, they are working their own Bane, for all big Empires determine in a single Person. Princes, whether they will place their Happiness in the Exercise of all sort of Vertues, or in the Enjoyment of all kind of Pleasures, have the Means and Opportunity, either way, of giving themselves full Content. One Kingdom will amply do it, yet with restless Care they interrupt their Sleeps, hurt their Healths, suffer the Incommodities of Heat and Cold, run the hazard of their Lives, all to enlarge their Territories, and are
never

never satisfied till they can grasp the whole.

This insatiable Appetite has so prevail'd, that even the best Philosophers, and most famous Law-givers, except *Lycurgus*, have form'd their Models of Government rather for Increase, than Preservation; not that they could think such a Constitution good or right, but they were compell'd to adapt their Schemes to the deprav'd Manners, and wild Passions of Humankind.

Private Persons would not be unhappy, tho with less Possessions of Land or Money, and Civil Life would not be so obnoxious to Law, Contentions, Fraud, Perjury, and Oppression, if Men would set some Bounds to their desire of Having. Commonwealths, well founded, would be Eternal, if they could contain themselves within a reasonable Extent of Territory, and Princes would make their own and the Condition of their People much more happy, if, instead of leading them out to Foreign Conquests, they would endeavour to Rule 'em at home in Peace, with wholesome Laws, Piety, and Justice.

But how have these Errors, Publick and Private, taken their Rise? In all appearance it is from hence, that ever since the Corruption of Nature, which is very ancient, we have given wrong Names to Things, and have allotted to Vice the Stamps and Attributes of Vertue. We term Avarice, Prudence and Oeconomy; We think none Wise, but who abound in Wealth; and none Honest, but whom Fortune favours: We call the false Arts of States-men, and the evil Faith, Perjury, and Dissimulation of Princes, Wisdom and deep Policy; Temerity we stile high Courage, Ambition we call a noble Thirst after Glory, and they who vex, Rob and disturb the World, we dignifie 'em with the Names of Conquerors and Heroes.

And because nothing was set by, esteem'd, and reverenc'd, but Wealth and Power, the forward part of Mankind strove to obtain as much of both as possibly they could; and these, as they grew in Strength, form'd themselves into particular Principalities and Commonwealths.

And

And these Principalities and Commonwealths, finding they increas'd in Fame, and Value with the World, as they increas'd in Wealth and Power, and that Success cover'd any Crime, and gave it a new Name and another sort of Lustre, proceeded forward still to fresh Conquests, till they had subdued all round about 'em; And from thence came what we call Universal Monarchy or Empire.

The Ambitious Part of Mankind have hunted after this Game for near four thousand years, with short Intermissions and breathing whiles, and commonly without any Regard whither or no in the Pursuit they follow'd the Rules of Honesty, Common Justice or Virtue.

Perhaps the same Chace will be again renew'd; and if so, these Papers may prove no unseasonable Warning: And in all Appearance the *Nimrod's* and Mighty Hunters before the Lord had never so fair a View before them.

Properly speaking there has never yet been an universal Empire, and of the Nations that have most Lorded it over the rest of the World none has been able to embrace the whole ; on the contrary, more has been out of their Rule than within it : However, such have been call'd Universal Monarchs, or Lords of the whole Earth, who having subdued whatever they thought worth the taking in, did at last sit down in quiet, not meeting with any other Opposition : Of which kind were the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*, the *Persian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* Empires.

And such is the restless Ambition of Mankind, that from the earliest knowledge we have of humane Affairs, there hardly appears to have been any long Course of time, in which some people or other did not either actually obtain, or at least attempt to procure to themselves Sovereign sway over the whole.

First one great Empire was erected, with infinite Devastations of the Earth, and slaughter of its Inhabitants ; That stood for a while to oppress the World,
At

At last it was subverted, but with fresh Calamities to the Race of Men ; Out of its Ruins a Second lifted up its Head, which was overthrown by *Alexander*, who set up a Third ; but his, rear'd in haste, fell as suddenly ; Then arose a Fourth, in Strength, and in the Beauty of its Fabrick exceeding all the rest, but that too was at last dismembred and overthrown.

Out of the Ruines of this mighty Fabrick several Kingdomes and States were erected ; but on this side of the World none arriv'd to any considerable Strength and Power, till *Charlemagne* had founded a Dominion that extended very far : He was a Martial as well as a wise Prince, and reigning prosperously for forty seven years, to his own Kingdom of *France* (in which that part of *Germany* was comprehended which lies between *Saxony*, the *Danube* and the *Rhine*) he added *Gascony*, *Navar*, and *Catalonia* : He was Crown'd King of *Lombardy*, and had all *Italy* as far as the low *Calabria*. He had Conquer'd *Suabia*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, all *Saxony*, *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, *Istria*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*, except some Maritime Towns

Towns which by Compact were left to the Greek Emperor. The French Historians make him likewise very strong in Spain, and say that with Navar and Aragon, he held all from the Pyrenean Mountains to the River Eber. And they who contemplate his whole Territory, must own he had very near all that part of the Roman Dominions, which, after the Division made by Constantine, was call'd the Western Empire.

If the Carlovingian Race, as well as that of Meroveus, had not very much degenerated towards the latter end ; If Charlemagne had not canton'd his numerous Illegitimate Issue in little Principalities, but, which was of more Consequence, If he had not divided his Acquisitions between his Children ; If the same Custome of dismembring their Dominions had not been generally follow'd by his Descendants, in all probability the Empire he had founded might have been very powerful, and of long duration : For with stretching himself out a little farther into Spain, he would have had a Situation very proper for Universal Monarchy. To which we must

must add, that he was in Possession of *Germany* and *France*, Countries, above all others in *Europe*, the most productive of Men.

The next great Body of Government is that which the *Turks* have erected in the East; of which by and by I shall make some little mention.

The next People who had the Appearance of obtaining Universal Monarchy were the *Spaniards*.

The Foundation of all that Power and Greatness to which this Nation arriv'd was laid by *Ferdinand*. By his Marriage with *Isabella* he united the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and by taking the Realm of *Granada* from the *Moors*, he got rid of such a domestic Enemy, as would always have hindred *Spain* from Foreign Enterprizes. The *Indies* were first discover'd and invaded at his Expence, and by his Encouragement. He form'd that Discipline, which afterwards prevail'd so much, he bred up those Armies, that in the next Reign perform'd so many Gallant Actions, and indeed it may be justly

ly said, he was to his Grandson *Charles* the 5th, what *Philip* of *Macedon* had been to his Son *Alexander*.

Fortune, which had design'd to Advance the House of *Austria*, had so contriv'd it, that these Circumstances should meet in one Man, First to be eldest of the *Austrian* Family, which might give him a Pretension to the Empire; and, Secondly, to have the Succession of the House of *Burgundy*, and of the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*, to center in his Person.

The *Arragonians* lying on the *Mediterranean*, had the Opportunity of joyn-
ing to their Dominions the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, the Realms of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, and that of *Naples*. The *Castilians* lying on both sides of the *Streights*, were Situated conveniently for taking in the opposite Towns on the Coast of *Affrick*, for conquering the *Canaries*, and for discovering and possessing the *West Indies*. The Paternal and Maternal Ancestors of *Charles*, had subdu'd all these Countreys, and they were descended peaceably to him; and being the Master of such large Estates,
did

did rather promote, than hinder his Election to the Imperial Dignity ; for no other Prince was at that time of Power sufficient to be set up, in opposition to the Growth of *France*, otherwise the Choice perhaps had fallen upon his Brother *Ferdinand*, as their Grand-father *Maximilian* had once design'd.

Charles the 5th being at once Emperor, and King of *Spain*, having under his Command the numbers of *Germany*, and its Strength of Horse, the *Spanish* Foot, so famous for Discipline, the Ports of *Italy*, and its adjacent Islands, his Dominions of the *Low Countries*, which made him considerable on this Side the Mountains, and, to give motion to this mighty Engine, being besides Master of the Wealth of *Peru* and *Mexico*, he seems to have had a very fair prospect of attaining to what we call Universal Empire.

But the Reasons are obvious enough how the *Spaniards* came to miss that of which they had such fair hopes, and whereunto they so visibly aspir'd.

Nothing that is of a hasty Growth, can be of a long continuance, which we see made good in all the Operations either of Art or Nature. That Lordship *Alexander* had obtain'd over the World, was the quick Result of Victories suddenly gotten, therefore his Power, which had not yet taken any Root, was short liv'd, and in a manner ended with him. But the *Assyrian* and *Roman* Empires, which continued so many Centuries, were the slow Product of Time: the Foundations of 'em were deeply laid by Great Men, and with much Wisdom. It cost many Consultations, Battels, Sieges, much Labour, and many a valiant Life, to rear up those Superstructures, and they were many Ages in Erecting; but when finish'd, they were strong and solid Fabricks, which were not to be shaken but in a great Tract of Time, and by very much ill Conduct. These Governments, firmly establish'd at first, and well rooted, were able to resist the Vices of their People, the Corruption of their Ministers, the Lusts, Madnes and Profusion, or Weakness and Effeminacy, in a long Succession of their Princes.

But

But this was not at all the Case of Spain, the Greatness of the House of Austria was sudden and accidental, the Matches with Mary of Burgundy, and with Johanna, Heirefs of Castile and Aragon, accumulated so many Provinces and Kingdoms under one Dominion.

Nor had this Power time to spread its Roots and fix; For the German Princes, jealous of their Liberties, would not suffer the Imperial Dignity and the Scepter of Spain to continue in one Person, tho Charles the 5th did his utmost to have it so; for notwithstanding that about the Year 1531, he had thought it necessary, for the support of his House, to get his Brother Ferdinand chosen King of the Romans; yet afterwards he endeavour'd to vacate that Election, and so to transmit his whole Dominions entirely to his Son; in order to which, in the year 1548. he made divers motions, and had several Transactions with his Brother Ferdinand, and with his Nephew Maximilian. He knew the Sovereign Sway, which in his Ambitious Thoughts he had projected for himself and his Posterity,

Thuanus
Tom. I.
Lib. 5. p.
137.

rity, was not to be compass'd, unless two such Powerful Estates were joyn'd together.

Other Circumstances contributed to hinder this Prince from carrying on the Greatness of *Spain*, so far as might have been expected from his Courage, Conduct, Vigilance and Sagacity. In *France* he had to deal with *Francis* the 1st, one of the most Gallant and Active Kings the World has seen for many Ages; He was new in the Conquests his Grandfather *Ferdinand* had made in *Italy*; In his *Belgick* Provinces, he had to do with men impatient to the last Degree of any Invasion upon their Civil Rights, who were ever in Commotion, who cost him ten Voyages to appease their Factions and Tumults, and who lay so remote from the main Body of his Strength, as not to be brought entirely under. Besides, he had not that full Affection of his People, which is requisite for Princes that would succeed in great Attempts. The *Germans* fear'd he might enslave them by the Wealth and Power of *Spain*, the *Spaniards*, and not without Reason, thought him partial to his *Flemings* and his *Germans*: In short,

short but few of his Subjects looked upon him as (what the Vulgar call) their natural and native Prince.

But tho *Charles* was necessitated to divide the Power of the House of *Austria* into two Branches, yet there seems to have been left to *Philip* his Son, a Foundation, upon which he might have erected a very great Superstructure.

The Troops his Father had bred, his Kingdom of *Spain*, his Possessions in *Italy* and the *Low Countries*, and the riches of the *Indies*, were such a strength, as had it been rightly managed, might have extended his Scepter, as far as that of any King had ever reach'd.

Besides, he had not such Opponents to wrestle with as his Father found in *Francis* the 1st, *Solyman* the Magnificent, and our *Henry* the 8th, for after *Philip's* accession to the Crown, *France* fell under a minority, and immediately was engaged in a Civil War, that lasted for near forty years, *Germany* was divided about Religious Matters, *Selimus* an unactive Prince sat in the *Ottoman* Throne,

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and

and the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* were worn by Women.

In appearance all these favourable Conjectures should have tended to place him on a very eminent Height, and yet we see he proceeded no farther than to conquer *Portugal*.

We must therefore conclude that *Spain* had some inward impediments that check'd her in her progress; for neither did her Prince want Ambition, nor were her People deficient in Courage for the highest undertaking; But the Causes may be plainly assign'd of her rising no higher under *Philip*, and of her declining ever since.

One fundamental Error has run thro' the whole Administration of that Kingdoms affairs ever since it has made any figure in the World, which is, that no regard has been had how much they dispeopled their Country. It had not abounded in Men for many ages, their Wars with the *Romans* had sufficiently thinn'd it. The *Goths* afterwards made great depopulations: No sooner had the *Goths* increas'd to some degree, but they

they were invaded by the the *Moors*, who made a mighty slaughter of the *Natives*. When such of the old *Spaniards* as had retired themselves into the *Asturias*, the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and old *Castile*, began to lift up their heads, they could gain no Foot of Ground upon the Plains, but with the loss of Men. We may indeed reckon they were in a continued State of War with these *Saracens* for about 775 years, reckoning from the reign of *D. Pelayo*, to the taking of *Granada* by *Ferdinand*.

During this time there were frequent invasions from *Africk* ; and when such numbers came over (though they were bravely resisted and expelled) it must needs have weakned the *Natives*, especially since we cannot perceive the *Spaniards* were ever inclined to incorporate with the *Moors* of such Provinces as from time to time they reduc'd to their Obedience ; when they had conquered a Country, the Enemies were forced either to return to *Affrick*, to abjure *Mahometenism* (which few did) or to retreat to such Places as they still held. And thus without any care to provide hands

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for

for War, Arts, Labour, and Manufactures, they proceeded till the reduction of *Granada*.

Besides what they suffered from abroad, the Country was perpetually dispeopled by domestick Wars between the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, among one another, or with their Neighbours of *Navar* and *Portugal*. And in these contests sometimes the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were possess'd with such mutual Rage as to call over Troops from *Affrick* one against the other.

Whoever considers what has been here laid down, will grant that *Spain* for a long time has not been fully peopled.

What number of Inhabitants it contained while the *Moors* were among 'em appears by one instance in *Mariana*, who says that about *Sevil*, in Olive yards, called *Axarase*, there were a hundred thousand Cottages, and Oyl Mills; and Quotes for this the History compiled by King *Alonzo* the Wise.

But

Bnt notwithstanding they were thus exhausted of Men in their long Wars, and that they wanted Inhabitants for those Provinces and Cities from whence they had expelled the *Moors*, yet within two Months after *Granada* was taken, King *Ferdinand* enter'd upon a very strange Council, which was to banish all the *Jews*. They had been long Inmates of *Spain*, and one would think were not so incompatible with the Religion of the Country as direct *Mahometans*, yet by a severe Edict they were all forced to depart. *Mariana* computes that there went away one hundred and seventy thousand Families, in all eight hundred thousand Persons.

The *Granadin Moors* by Capitulation had the choice of remaining or going away, but they easily foresaw the Inquisition would make their stay impracticable, and therefore as many as could, pass'd over into *Affrick*. This Tribunal seems to have had place only in *Arragon* till the year 1478, at which time it was settled in *Castile*, and when *Granada* was taken it was extended over all the *Spanish Territories*.

tories. Without doubt no Country can be well inhabited where this sanguinary Court has any Authority. It was set up at the instigation of the Cardinal *Pedro Goncales de Mendoza* Archbishop of *Sevil*, it was levell'd at the *Moors* and *Jews*, and has tended more to the dispeopling and destruction of *Spain* than all the invasions they have had from *Affrick*.

To the severities of this Court, is to be attributed that *Spain* all along has had perpetual Evacuations, and no Recruits. And whatever the Catholick Writers may pretend, undoubtedly the Cruelties inflicted upon this miserable People on the score of Religion occasioned that Rebellion of the *Moris-co's*, which happened *Anno 1570*, in *Philip* the 2d's time, in the Mountains of *Alpujares*, which lasted two years, and was suppress'd by *D. John* of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Arcos*, but not without great loss to *Spain*, because while that action continued, and after it was over, such vast numbers of them went away, as that even the Rich Plains about *Granada* are ever since become a Desert.

For

For the Reasons here given *Spain* must have wanted its full complement of Inhabitants at the very time its Greatness seem'd most formidable to the rest of *Europe*. 'Tis true, *Charles* and *Philip* were both able to raise great Forces, which look'd as if they reigned over populous Kingdoms, but this strength of theirs had no Root. Soldiers of Fortune will at first from all parts resort to States that are new and increasing, and to a Rising Young Prince; and an Army so composed may be good for a single Expedition, but can never fix a wide and lasting Empire. Countries that will enlarge their Dominions, should have within themselves a perpetual spring of People, for War is a Devourer that must be always fed.

In all appearance, this want of People was the inward Impediment that check'd the *Spaniards* in their Progress towards Universal Monarchy; and peradventure it may be safely laid down, that in the height of all their Greatness, they had not such an innate strength as could enable 'em to succeed in so vast an undertaking; In all probability

bility they began where they should have ended ; Had they waited till in the natural course of time those Countreys had been replenished with Men, which were left desolate by the departure or extinction of the *Moors* ; If for a while they had made no more Attempts than what were just necessary to preserve Discipline, and to inure their People to War. If, as wise Nations have ever done, they had invited over by Priviledges and Protection all sort of Comers to inhabit their deserted Provinces ; If in the mean time, by encouraging Trade, Tillage and Manufactures, they had kept in *Spain* part of that Gold and Silver which came from the *Indies* : Lastly, if they had staid to be strong within, before they exerted themselves too much Abroad, they had probably establish'd a Dominion and Power, to which the greatest part of *Europe* must have submitted.

But instead of all this, They were like a Tree that begins to spread its Branches before it has taken any deep Root, whose large Top makes it the more obnoxious to every Blast of Wind ; They aim'd at Sovereign Sway without Hands

Hands to hold it ; They were indeed Lords of many Kingdoms, but this was a huge Bulk without any Sinews.

Machiavel observes very rightly, That whosoever would make any City Great and apt for Dominion, must with all Industry endeavour to throng it with Inhabitants, otherwise it will be impossible to bring it to any great Perfection. This was the principal Object of the Roman Peoples Care. But even before the Reign of *Ferdinand*, and much more ever since, the *Spaniards* have taken quite other Measures ; and have thought fit, both in *Europe*, and in the *Indies*, to settle a large Empire by a wide Desolation.

Upon this Rock the Affairs of *Spain* have split. Their suffering so many Persons to enter into Religious Orders is a Branch of the same ill Conduct. As to their *American* Plantations, those Outlets would not have been hurtful to 'em, if they had taken Care by mild Laws and good Encouragement to have Peopled from Abroad their Mother Kingdome. The *Romans* were always sending out Colonies, and planting elsewhere such Slips and Scions, with-
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out any prejudice to the main Trunk ; *England* has done the same, and is much Richer, and not the Weaker at home for these foreign Settlements.

But as impossible as it seems to have been that his designs could succeed, 'tis evident he aim'd at Universal Monarchy ; And yet by what appears from his Actions in the World, there is reason to think he not only wanted Strength, but that he was likewise destitute of Council ; and that tho his Dominions had been much better Peopled, he must have miscarried in his Enterprizes:

Machiavel observes, that the *Romans* were never involv'd in two considerable Wars at one and the same time. What he says is very true. For these People proceeded by such leisurely Steps as were conducted by Wisdom, and left nothing to Chance. When they had subdued all *Italy*, they attack'd the Commonwealth of *Carthage*, whose Spirit of Liberty was most like to stand in the way of their intended Greatness. Nor did they think of remote Designs in *Asia*, till by conquering *Philip*, they had broken

broken the Force of Greece : And By observing this Method of Singling out one Nation after another, they were the surer of Success, because their Councils at home were not distracted with Variety of Matters, and their Strength abroad was not divided : Nor did they leave any Attempt imperfect, either in Apprehension of the Difficulty, or diverted by some fairer Prospect, and this Conduct made 'em at last Lords of all.

But the *Spaniards*, in the Administration of their Affairs, took quite other Measures. First, as to *Charles* the 5th, 'tis observ'd of him that he never finish'd any Enterprize. *Philip* the 2d was so far from avoiding being implicated with too many Actions at once, that at the same time he had upon his Hands the Support of the League (which was a perpetual Drain of Treasure to him, and could not but end in open War, as it did at last) the Rebellion of the *Low Countries*, and the Invasion of *England* ; and all this not by Accident, but upon Premeditation. The Design of invading *England* had been laid in 1581, and for seven years he had been making all sort of Preparations towards it. He enter'd
into

into League with the Catholick Princes of *France* in 1584, and the Defection in his *Belgick* Provinces had continued from 1568. What Council was able to embrace such a variety of Business? And what Treasure, Naval Force, and Armies, were adequate to so many, and such high Designs?

Thus endeavouring to embrace the whole, and all at once, he succeeded in nothing; for the Stream of his Power was diverted into too many Branches, to run any where with such an impetuous Force as might bear down all before it.

His not succeeding in these Attempts, did not only stop his Progress for the time, but they were Wounds of which *Spain* has ever since bled and languish'd. The *Netherlands* have been a Canker perpetually eating upon its Vitals. The summs expended to support the League drew away the best part of its Treasure. But the fatal Blow of all was the Mis-carriage of their Armada; 'Twas one of Fortunes bearded Arrows, it struck deep into the Flesh, and no Skill or Care could get it out. Land Armies may be re-

recruited, and raw Troops are disciplin'd in two or three years service, but to form a great Naval Strength, as it is infinitely more expensive, so it is the Work of much longer time; And if it be once so broken as that was, 'tis hardly to be repair'd.

We may properly enough date the Rise of the *Spanish* Power from the year 1503, at which time *Gonzales*, call'd the Great Captain, entirely reduc'd the Kingdom of *Naples*: from that year they went on increasing for fourscore and five years: And perhaps we may as properly fix the year 1588 for the *Æra* of their Declension.

'Tis true, the Valour and wonderful Conduct of *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma* did for a while uphold the Reputation of that Kingdome, but he seems the last Great Man they had. Ever since his death their Affairs have gone backwards: But we may safely lay down, that from the year 1588, they had lost all Hopes of attaining to Universal Monarchy.

How-

However, they were Masters of so rich Dominions, and had such a remaining Foundation of Strength, that tho perhaps they could not be in a Condition to enlarge their Territories, yet still they might have been a very Potent People ; at least they might have held their own, and in Conjunction with the Empire, would have always been an Overmatch for any Prince or Power in *Europe*, had they not continu'd to pursue those measures, which all along had been so prejudicial to 'em.

The Inquisition, from its first Establishment, had driven from this Country the most useful and most industrious of its Inhabitants, from that time Trade and Tillage began to decline in *Spain*, this brought a distemper upon their Body Politick, which tho by slow degrees, was sure to kill at last. But so strong a Constitution as theirs was (supported too with the Cordials their Gallions brought every year from *India*) might have lasted a long while, had not *Philip* the 3d made so large an Evacuation at once, as
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in a manner drew away all its vital Spirits.

In 1610, by a strict Edict, severely executed, he banished from his Dominions all the Descendants of those *Jews* and *Moors*, who after the Reduction of *Granada* had chiefly planted themselves in *Valentia*, and *Castile*, and *Andalusia*, but were spread thro' the whole Kingdom. Most of 'em had been baptiz'd, and were called New Christians: 'Tis true, they were suspected to lean still towards their old Superstition, but Time and gentle Usage might have brought 'em into the Bosome of that Church. But whatever they were, or would have been, men of all Religions have thought the Council of no Nation did ever make so wrong a step: The common Opinion is, there were then driven away twelve hundred thousand persons. Upon their Expulsion, all the Lands of the Nobility and Gentry forthwith fell in Value; for it was their Custome to pay for what they held a full third more than the natural *Spaniards* could afford to give. And thus it came to pass, that this Region, in former Ages so well inhabited, is now
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Tit. Liv.
1. 28.

become a Defart. *Livy* tells us, * *Hi-
spania, non quam Italia modo, sed quam
ulla pars Terrarum Bello reparando aptior
erat.* This Country, that heretofore
bred so many Souldiers, can now hard-
ly send out an Army of its own Na-
tives: So that, as *Philip* the 2d, by
taking bad measures made it impossible
for the *Spaniards* to extend their Limits,
so *Philip* the 3d, by having thus dis-
peopled his Country, has made it so
difficult for 'em to preserve their own
Dominions, that we see 'em in this unhap-
py Juncture of Affairs compell'd to throw
themselves into the Arms of *France*.

We cannot say the *Spaniards* from
the time they began to make a figure
in the World have had above two war-
like Princes upon the Throne, viz: *Fer-
dinand* and *Charles* the 5th, whereas
Kingdoms that go about to form any
great Empire, must have had a long
succession of Men of Council and Acti-
on, since one loose Reign, if it last any
number of years, is sufficient to over-
throw the Policy and Discipline of two
or three Ages; for men, with great
Labour, and slowly, climb up hill to
Renown and Vertue, but they tumble
down

down apace towards Effeminacy and Vice: such an uninterrupted series of Wise and Active Kings will in a short tract of time erect a very large dominion, as we see the *Turks* did in less than three Centurys, among whom there was not the Interposition of one weak Reign, from *Ottoman* their first Founder to *Selymus* the Son of *Solyman*. And a people must needs become strong and formidable, whose Courage always leads 'em to make new Conquests, and whose wisdom so provides that they never lose any footing they have once gained; 'tis true, under *Bajazet* their affairs were brought to the brink of Ruin, however he himself was neither defective in Valour, nor in Conduct, and all that can be said is that he was overborn by a Torrent of superiour Power. But all their other Kings and Emperours made some addition to the main body of their Empire. Unless we may except the *Romans*, no People ever reached to such a Power from so little a beginning, but the *Ottoman* Princes have proceeded by much quicker steps than the *Romans* did, overrunning a great part of the World in a Rapid Course. This vast Dominion took its Rise from

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Ertogrul, a Prince of the *Oguzian* Tribe, who with no more than 400 Men, fix-
ed themselves in a Village called *Saguta*,
near the Mountain *Tmolus* in the great-
er *Phrigia*. *Ottoman* the Son of *Erto-*
grul began the Kingdom about the year
1299. He joyned to his small Prin-
cipality almost all *Bythinia*, and the
greatest part of *Pontus*. *Orchan* his
Son took *Prusa*, where he resided, and
got footing into *Europe* by taking *Cal-*
lipolis and a few other places. *Amu-*
rath subdued the *Thracia Chersonese*,
he took the City of *Adrianople*, and
vanquish'd the Countreys of *Servia* and
Bulgaria. *Bajazet* added to his Do-
minions most part of *Thrace*, *Macedon*,
and *Achaia*, but himself was overcome
by *Tamerlane*. *Mahomet* conquer'd *Da-*
cia, part of *Sclavonia* and what remain-
ed of *Macedon*. *Amurath* the second
took from the Greek Emperor what he
held in *Achaia*, and all *Theffaly* and *E-*
pire. *Mahomet* the 2d, who of the *Ot-*
toman Family first took upon him the
imperial style, subdued whatever re-
main'd to the Greek Emperours, and
vanquish'd what was called the Empire
of *Trapezond*. *Bajazet* the 2d reduced
Caramania and part of *Armenia*, and took
from

from the *Venetians* the *Morea* and their part of *Dalmatia*, *Selimus* overthrew the Government of the *Mamalukes* in *Egypt*, which with *Palestine*, *Syria* and *Arabia*, he added to his Dominions. *Solyman* seized *Rhodes*, a great part of *Hungary*, and reduced to his Dominion *Babylon*, *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*. Other of their Princes have since made some little Conquests, but the *Ottoman* Greatness was at its height in the reign of *Solyman*.

Thus we have seen a very large dominion settl'd in a short Period of time, *Ottoman* began to reign about 1299. *Solyman* died in 1566. So that in two hundred and sixty seven years the *Turks* in a manner had master'd what was called the Eastern Empire.

Their six Kings and four first Emperours were all of 'em men of Action and Council, and indeed we meet in no story with so long a succession of great and able Rulers. From *Solyman* downwards they have had no Martial Prince upon the Throne, but *Amurath* the 4th. If the *Ottoman* Family had not degenerated; If they had not suffered their

ancient Discipline to be corrupted and lost ; and if they had kept up to the Rules and Principles upon which their Government was first founded ; in all likelihood they must have had sovereign sway over the whole Earth, or at least their Territories would have had no other bounds than what they themselves had been pleased to fix.

But both the *Ottoman* and *Spanish* Monarchies rose too fast to continue long, for the parts that composed those two great Bodies had not time to cement strongly together, besides, the *Turks* as well as the *Spaniards*, never minded to what degree they dispeopled such Dominions as they conquered.

The attempts which the *Turks* and *Spaniards* made to erect such unbounded Empires, did involve a large part of the World in Wars and Mischiefs while their Power lasted, but they being both declined, let us see whither they have left the field open, for any other Nation to set a foot the same design.

Many

Many Provinces must be join'd and assimilated to compose one super-eminent Dominion. This mighty Fabrick stands for a while, till Ill Conduct, Vice and Effeminacy have undermin'd its Foundation, then it falls, and out of its Ruins another Building rises, which in time may grow to equal what went before, in Strength, Extent, Symetry, and Height.

For that Virtue which at first forms Empire, is never quite extinct, but rather traverses from one Region to another. By Virtue I do not mean that which is commonly oppos'd to Vice, but by Virtue I here understand Piety to our Country, Zeal for its Interest or Glory, Patience under Adverse Fortune, Temper in Prosperity, Obedience to Discipline and the Laws, Foresight in Business, Secrecy and Firmness in Councils, Vigour in Action, Courage, Military Skill, Thirst of Honour, Magnanimity; And these are the Virtues upon which Dominion is founded,

These virtues have at times shined in all great Nations, and where-ever they prevail most, that Country will be so

superiour as perhaps to overbear the whole, if it has a long succession of Wise or Warlike Princes, if it be sufficiently stock'd with People, if it has its proportion of Riches, and if its situation lyes conveniently for Universal Monarchy.

The *Ottoman* Force has visibly impaired for more than a Century. *Spain*, as I have shewn, has declined for above a hundred years. *Germany* is canton'd into so many Principalities, which are so jealous of their own Liberties, and so divided in their own Interests, that they can never attempt any considerable Matter, being rather an Empire for Preservation than Increase, so that the *French* seem at present to be a people that have the fairest prospect of erecting such a large Empire as has been here describ'd.

The Condition of this Kingdom was very low till *Charles* the 7th had Conquer'd *Normandy*, and quite expell'd the *English*. First we had large Possessions there. The Duke of *Britanny* was very powerful, and the Duke of *Burgundy* was of himself more than a Match for *France*. But

But after the Battel of *Fourmignie*, which was in the year 1450, where we were totally defeated, their affairs began to have a better Complexion, and from that time they have been a rising Nation.

To model *France* into such a Government as should be capable to oppress its Neighbours, and of embracing high designs abroad, there wanted such a Prince as his Son *Lewis* the 11th prov'd, who did that by Policy which other Kings are wont to do by Force; for they who will over-run other Countries, must first overthrow their own Laws; for a Powerful Nobility and a Free People are not easily brought to follow the mad Sallies of a Princes wild Ambition. *Lewis* did weaken and pull down all the great Families of *France*, and made 'em all dependent upon him, which gave the first Rise of a Standing Army there; and, to compleat the work, he so wrought as to get the Power of Raifing what Money he pleas'd upon the People.

His Son *Charles* the eighth was indeed a weak Prince, but he did not want Courage ; and those ill concerted Expeditions he made into *Italy*, did at least tend to render his People Warlike ; and as his Father had by his Arts broke the Force of the Duke of *Burgundy*, so he was the means that *Britanny* came to be united to the *French* Crown.

Charles was succeeded by *Lewis* the 12th, a Prince of most Excellent Virtues, and who began to form the Troops of *France* into that Discipline in which they have since so much excell'd.

His Successor, *Francis* the first, was a Compleat Hero, and in his days the Kingdom was arriv'd to that Pitch of Greatness, that if he had not lost the Battel of *Pavia*, according to the best Judgment of that Age, he had set *France* much higher than *Spain* was during the Reign of *Charles* the 5th. But indeed during the two Minorities that follow'd, of *Francis* the 2d, and of *Charles* the 9th, its affairs began again

gain to decline, and the Riots and Profusion of *Henry* the third were capable to sink any Kingdom. However, during these three Reigns, tho Civil Wars rag'd all the while, yet the Power of *France* went on encreasing all along, because the People for the whole time were in Action, and inur'd to War.

After these succeeded a Martial Prince, *Henry* the 4th ; and considering what an Army he commanded, what a Treasure he was then Master of, and how capable he was to form and to execute any great Enterprize, had he not been cut off by untimely death, 'tis not easie to conceive how far he might have extended the Arms and Honour of his Country. In the two next Reigns that followed, viz. of *Lewis* the 13th, and of the present *French* King, there were two Minorities, which commonly tend to weaken and distract a Nation, but *France* was all the while under a strong Government, because, tho Factions did now and then prevail a little, in the main the Reins were held by the unerring and severe hands of *Richelieu* and *Mazarin* ; and they

they must be Kings highly qualify'd indeed, and such as are not seen every Age, who know how to Rule a People so well as these Cardinals did during their Administration.

As to the Present Reign, 'tis to be wish'd *England* had less Reason to commend its Conduct and Wisdom. 'Tis true, no Government can be truly called wise, that has any other view but the Liberty and Happiness of the People ; but according to the deprav'd Appetite and Policies of Mankind, who think Power and Empire to be what Princes should chiefly aim at, towards Compassing these Ends the present *French* King seems to have taken all the proper steps thereunto conducting.

He has strongly Fortify'd all the Frontiers of his Kingdom, he has form'd a Powerful Navy, of which *France* was never thought capable ; he has render'd his whole People Warlike, insomuch that he is able to raise three hundred thousand fighting men ; he has brought Military Discipline to its full perfection, he has put his Revenue into so good a
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method, that he could maintain the Expence of such Fleets and Armies, as were brought against the Confederates while the late War lasted.

Reckoning from *Charles* the 7th's last Battel, which Restor'd *France*, and was gain'd *anno* 1450, to this present day, they have been two hundred and fifty years building up their Monarchy, not by hasty Victories, but by adding from time to time something to their Dominions, and by such flow degrees, as permitted their new Acquisitions to be Consolidated, and to become of a Piece with their Ancient Territory.

During this time there has been the Interposition but of two weak Reigns, nor during this time have they felt any great blow, such as the *Turks* received from *Tamerlane*, nor have they had any such Loss as the *Spaniards* suffered by the total Destruction of their Fleet, and by the Disappointment of their Expedition in 1588. 'Tis true, the Battel of *Pavia* was a wound, but not a mortal one, nor was their Force then entirely broken.

Their

Their Dominion does not consist of Remote Provinces, such as are a burthen to the Head Kingdome, and which help'd to weaken *Spain*; nor is it compos'd of desart and dispeopled Countries, as is the *Turkish* Empire:

Their own Kingdom has been all along well stocked with Inhabitants, and not dispeopled by Wars and Invasions, as *Spain* and all the *Ottoman* Territories had been for many ages. 'Tis true, by their inhumane Persecution of the Protestants they have driven away a vast number of their most useful hands, which seems a false step in Politicks, unless by this cruel zeal they had a desire to recommend themselves to the bigotted *Spaniards*, nor is this Conjecture improbable, because they have had the succession of that Crown so long in view, and considering that in their Councils and Measures they have ever looked a great way forward.

Some perhaps will object that they are now drein'd of Men by the late Famine and Sicknes, and by a long War, that the Crown is very much indebted, and that

that one face of Poverty has spread it self over the whole Nation, all which peradventure is true. But their Climate is so Good and Healthy that they will soon be recruited with People. And as to their present Debts and Poverty, they seem to be in the case of a private man, who has embroyl'd his whole Estate to bring about some great Undertaking, in which if he succeeds his Fortune is made for ever : so, continual action and high designs , carried on for near forty years, has no doubt very much impoverished the Body of their Kingdom ; but if they prosper, if they obtain that large Empire, perhaps over the whole, to which they have so long aspired, or if they can only annex the *Spanish* dominions to their Crown, they will be richly paid for all their past Expences.

'Tis a melancholy consideration that we can no longer say the House of *Austria*, the two Branches of which preserved the Ballance of Power, and weighed in the scale against *France* ; We must now say the House of *Bourbon*. With what mischiefs does not the

the Conjunction of such mighty Kingdoms threaten the World ? If the *French* have it not in their Will, is it not in their Power to oppress the whole, especially if both Scepters fall into one hand ? In short, by the Extent of their Territories, the Multitude of their Inhabitants, by the number and union of their Forces, by their discipline, Courage, military Skill, and lastly by their Ambition, guided by all the Rules of Wisdom, and upon many more Accompts, they seem the People most likely to invade the liberties of *Europe*.

If by the Duke of *Burgundy's* dying without Issue Male, the two Crowns should come to be worn by one Prince, he would have (tho not for Extent of Territory) yet for Wealth, Trade, number of Inhabitants, and for Power, a larger Empire than the *Turks* possess'd, or than that which *Charlemagne* erected, to whose whole Dominions the *French* Authors affirm their Kings have an undoubted Right.

Such a Monarchy would be so strong, that all the rest of Christendom would be

be utterly unable to resist it. This sad Prospect has occasion'd these Papers. And 'tis to be hop'd, all good *English* men will bend their principal Thoughts, and exert their utmost Strength, both now and in future times, to prevent the Growth of such a Power, which may be interrupted in its first Settlement; but if it be suffer'd to fix, 'twill soon be an over-match either for any single, or indeed for any Confederate Opposition.

But it may be necessary to examine whither or no there be any real Hurt in Universal Monarchy: Some persons have thought not, and that such a posture of the World would conduce to the general Peace and Welfare of Humanekind. If so, there is no need by any Arguments to excite Virtuous Men and good Patriots to oppose it by their Deeds and in their Councils.

The *Spaniards*, while they had it in view, publish'd Books to show what Good it might produce to humanekind; and the *French*, who abound in good Wits and able Writers, will perhaps do the same, hoping to deceive those by
false

false Reasonings, who shall be left unsubdued by Force of Arms. *Pedro Mexia*, a Spaniard, in his Book entitled *Los Cæsares*, speaking of the happy days the *Roman* People saw under the Reigns of the three Emperors who went before *Antoninus Pius*, as likewise under the Government of some of those who succeeded, has Expressions to this purpose : “ That in their
“ times the whole Earth enjoy’d Peace
“ and Rest ; That , notwithstanding
“ their infinite Power and numerous
“ Forces, Justice prevail’d every where,
“ and their Subjects were in full Possession of Liberty, Security, and Property ; That to their Courts resorted
“ all the Noble, Valiant, and Learned
“ Men in the Universe ; That it was
“ matter of great Wonder to see what
“ Union and Friendship there was between different Nations , insomuch
“ that a man might have travell’d
“ through the World, or the best parts of
“ it safely, and without any Fear, all
“ Nations looking upon themselves as
“ Neighbours, and as it were Fellow
“ Citizens ; There was then no occasion of Passports and Letters of Safe
“ Conduct, nor to procure another sort
“ of

“ Coin for every Region to which
 “ your Business led you ; That then
 “ every Country had not different Laws,
 “ Travellers were not apprehensive of
 “ falling into the hands of Enemies,
 “ or to be made Captives ; Nor could
 “ a Malefactor commit a Crime in one
 “ place, in confidence of finding Re-
 “ fuge and Protection in another. He
 “ that was born in the *Orcades*, or fur-
 “ thest part of *Europe*, was at home,
 “ tho he was in *Asia* or *Africk*, and as
 “ good a Denison as tho he had been
 “ there born ; That Merchants in that
 “ Age did not stand in fear of Forfei-
 “ tures and Penalties at every Port and
 “ Place, but might freely pass with
 “ their Merchandize without particular
 “ Licences ; And lastly, that the State
 “ of Mankind in those times was every
 “ way full of Felicity under the *Roman*
 “ Government.

No doubt this Author (who wrote
 in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the
 5th , and whose Historiographer he
 was) had a mind to insinuate to the
 World a good Opinion of that Univer-
 sal Monarchy, at which his Master was
 then aiming.

If *Mexia* were single in this Thought, or if the Fears were very remote, that such a super-eminent Power might once more get footing in the World, it would not be worth the while to refute his Notions: But since he has many Followers and Admirers, and since there are near and cogent Reasons to apprehend that a great part of the Globe may again fall under the sole Dominion of some one Prince, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon this subject.

Which way soever we consider great Empires (whither in their Infancy, in their blooming Youth, in their Manhood and full Strength, or in their declining Age, we shall find Mankind in all these several Periods of time afflicted with Wars, Famine, Bloodshed, Thralldome, and Devastations.

They are brought forth with Pangs, and the first Exertions of their Vigour are destructive to their Neighbours. Their Strugglings for Elbow room are ever bloody, because Opinion of Equality in Forces makes the first Contentions

tentions obstinate. But their Infancy, while they fight under their Mothers Wing, *Dum circum ipsam Matrem cum Finitimis luctantur*, is of all their Age the most innocent.

As they spread themselves further, 'tis still with Destruction of others. 'Tis true, their Youth is full of Courage, Heroick Ardour, Magnanimity, and of all that we call Virtuous, while they are in the early Chace of Glory: but what is this Renown they hunt after? Is not the Foundation of it laid in Battels, Sieges, Sackings, and those other Effects of War, that involve Humankind in various sorts of Misery?

But when they are come to Manhood, or full Strength, Ruin grows more extensive; They are no longer warm'd with the Virtuous desire of Fame, but inflam'd with that wild Lust, Ambition: They range about for Prey wantonly, and not out of Hunger; They vex not here and there a City, but lay whole Regions waste. They kill of others, or lose themselves, twenty, forty, or a hundred thousand men in one Battel; And when they are

quite debauch'd with Power, then follow Breach of Faith, Stratagems, Circumventions, Inobservance of Treaties, Oppression of their Vassals, Frauds, Perjury, Rapes, Murders, Burnings, and all the other Monsters with which the Earth is pregnant, after she has engender'd with the God of War.

However, when they have subdued the whole, Peace and Rest to Mankind should be expected; but before their Robust Maturity is quite over, they fall at Variance among themselves about the Sway of that World which they have Conquer'd; as did *Sylla* and *Marius*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and afterwards *Octavius* with *Brutus*, and *Sextus* the Son of *Pompey*, and then with *Antony*; whose Quarrels engag'd the whole Earth, and harass'd, wasted, and afflicted *Italy*, the Allies, and the Provinces, more than all the Wars that had gone before.

But when these great Empires arrive to their old and declining Age, the Diseases contracted for want of Action affect and interrupt the Peace and Felicity
of

of Mankind, as much as the furious Excursions of their Youth and Manhood. For be it either in a Commonwealth, or in a Single Person, Power never gets to a very eminent Height, but it runs into all sort of Corruptions, and there is rarely any sound Health in the Body Politick, but while 'tis kept in Motion: 'Tis true, good Princes, such as was *Augustus*, when they have made all things quiet, tho' it was by Force and Bloodshed, render the Condition of Mankind happy as long as their Reigns last, but how miserable was the state of the whole Earth under the bad Emperors of *Rome*, who in Number did much exceed the good Ones.

Augustus did indeed shut the Temple of *Janus*, and when the Government of the whole was fix'd in a single Person, the World was for a while at Peace, but how long did that last? did not contending Titles soon after cover *Italy* and the Provinces with Civil Arms? but could any War be so destructive as the Cruelty, Profusion, Lust, Riots, and Rage, of the Princes that soon followed?

'Tis true, there was a seeming Peace for a while, and the Vulgar and unknown Heads were safe, but was there not at the same time an open War proclaimed against Virtue, and all Virtuous Men ? were they not every where Proscrib'd, Murder'd, Confiscated, Banish'd or Imprisoned ?

While this Sovereign Dominion subsisted, for how long can we say the Condition of Mankind was happy ? This Empire, or at least the remains of it, lasted Twelve Hundred Twenty Eight Years, of which the first Seven Hundred and Eleven were a continued State of War ; then it fell into a single Person : And of the Princes in whom their Vertues were more predominant than their Vices, the number was but very small, they were *Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Coccins Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Philosophus, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander Severus, Constantin* and *Theodosius* the Great ; Who all of 'em in the Whole Reign'd but about two Hundred and Eighteen Years, which were the only good Times Humanekind could be thought

thought to enjoy in the Revolution of so many Ages.

These Great Empires are not only Oppressive to the Race of Men while they are fixing, and when they are fix'd, but their very Diffolution is attended with infinite Mischeifs.

When they are come to their decrepid Age, they do not, like Natural Bodies, whom time has weaken'd and wasted, fall gently, and by insensible degrees. These mighty Fabricks, the parts of which were Strongly cemented at first, indure many Shocks, Storms, Disasters, and Attempts, before they are intirely overthrown.

It was fourscore years before *Alerich* with his *Goths*, *Attila* with his *Hunns*, *Genferich* with his *Vandals*, and *Odoacer* with his *Scythians*, could subvert the *Roman* People, during which time they suffer'd more miseries than they themselves had felt, or than they had made others feel in the whole course of their Dominion.

The Slaughters, the Devastations of the Provinces, Sackings of Cities, and Depopulations in *Italy*, which Mankind then saw, are hardly to be number'd ; so that while these fierce Invaders were heaving at, and subverting a Fabrick that had stood so long, and whose Foundations were so deeply laid, the whole Earth was to be in a Convulsive Motion, and to suffer in its Downfall.

But *Mexia* tells us, that while the World was thus under the Rule of a Single Person, Trade flourish'd : and so perhaps it did, but then 'twas only in that Country which was the principal Seat of Empire.

For, as we see in particular Kingdoms, where there is one great City, it draws to it all the Trade ; so in a large Dominion, compos'd of several Provinces, be it a Commonwealth, or a Principality, whatever Country is the Head of Affairs, there will all the Traffick center. Thus the *Athenians*, when by the Advice of *Themistocles*, they were become strong at Sea, and
when

when in about fifty Years (Reckoning from the departure of *Xerxes* to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War) they were grown to have the chief Command over all *Greece*, they engross'd all the Commerce that was then stirring, and the other Cities and Islands were but Dealers under them. Their Navy indeed was the Occasion of their Greatness, but whatever Nation has the chief Dominion at Land, will in time have the Dominion of the Seas, and they who are strongest at Sea, will have all the Trade. Besides, Merchants will always resort to Countrys where they see a big *Emporium*, a Luxurious People, and a Pompous Court.

While the *Roman* Empire lasted did not the Wealth of the whole Universe center in *Italy* and *Rome*? were not the Subject Nations all peel'd and plunder'd to enrich and adorn one City? What could remain after the Rapines committed by the *Prætors* and *Proconsuls* that were sent to govern the Provinces? was there any more left than what would barely give the Inhabitants a poor Livelihood and serve to pay their Tributes? Where Trades were beneficial

ficial did they not farm them out, as that of the *Indies* to the People of *Alexandria*? Other Instances might be given of the like Nature, and when they came to have bad Princes, was not all the World oppress'd with Taxes to Support their Riots and Profusion?

Besides, all these great Monarchies degenerate into Tyranny, with which Trade is incompatible.

But *Mexia* tells us, *That to the Courts of the Roman Emperors resorted all the Noble, Valiant and Learned Men in the Universe.* They had Reason indeed to love Men of Valour, for without such strong Hands to hold 'em up, they stood upon a very dangerous Height, and yet the best of 'em have been afraid of Eminent Virtues, and have thought Superiour merit a high Crime. 'Tis true, good Princes now and then forgive Gallant Generals, that have done 'em many Signal Services, they let 'em live on, retir'd and neglected, but the bad Ones are not at rest till they have cut off all brave and noble Spirits: which occasion'd *Corbulo's* Friends to wonder why he would seek matter for his

his Glory, and stir up new Wars in the Reign of *Claudius*. *Cur Hostem conciret? adversa in Rempublicam casura: Sin prospere egisset, formidolosam paci, virum insignem, & ignavo Principi prægravem.* And even the Martial Kings and Emperors that have made most bustle in the World, have shew'd down more Favours upon their Cabinet Flatterers than upon their Men of Action.

But he would insinuate, that these Universal Monarchs promoted Learning; whereas nothing could be so opposite to their Designs. The Eloquence that can shew the People how they are injur'd, and perswade 'em to seek Redress, the piercing Judgment which can look into the Faults in Government, and expose Corrupt Ministers, good Sense, and the Virtue which good Sense produces, Books, Science, and Wisdom, are so many Obstacles to the Settlement of unbounded Power; and therefore Princes who have aim'd at it (except now and then some one excellent man, such as was *Augustus*) have been far from encouraging Letters and Knowledge: On the contrary, they have endeavour'd

deavour'd, as much as in them lay, to extinguish all the Lights of Nature.

They who would put the World under this Form of Government, and think thereby to render its Condition more safe and easie, must suppose that none but good Princes shall be upon the Throne, which did not happen to the *Romans*, when they had the choosing of their Masters. They were often mistaken in their Choice, some had good Inclinations, but were corrupted by those about 'em; In others the Seeds of Vice and Cruelty lay undiscover'd, as in *Tiberius*; Others Nature had form'd well enough, but so much Power turn'd their Heads, and made 'em worse; *Solusque Vespasianus omnium ante se Principum, in melius mutatus est.* Nor was it better in those Great Empires that went by Succession, for all the Royal Races that we read of, degenerated in a few Years, except that of *Ottoman*, which kept up to its first Vigour for ten Generations.

But *Mexia* would infer, that under the *Romans* Mankind enjoy'd Rest, because

cause there were not then such frequent Wars between Nation and Nation as now adays. 'Tis true, they were restrain'd by one over-ruling Power, at whose Pleasure only they were to make War or Peace. But the Maintenance of such a riotous and expensive Court, the Payment of so large Armies, Fleets and Numerous Garrisons, the Oppression by Governours and Lieutenants of the remote Provinces, and the heavy Taxes impos'd upon such as lay nearer hand, were a greater Weight upon the World, than now and then a War could be, and at this time, any Country that will patiently endure all this, may be at rest from War.

As the Earth is now divided into several Kingdomes, Principalities and States, between 'em Wars will happen, but the Weaker fortifie themselves by Alliances with the stronger; so that (unless some Great Oppressor rises up to disturb the World with his Ambition) we have many more years of Peace than of War; whereas in Universal Empires every day had its different Calamities; While they were Rising they harass'd their Subjects with perpetual Action; when

when they were grown Powerful, they
rul'd 'em with hard Reins, and when
they declin'd, and became weak, they
were unable to protect 'em.

What this *Spaniard* advances is in
part true, *That in those Days a Malefactor*
could not commit a Crime in one Country
in Confidence of finding Protection in
another. But at the same time was not
afflicted Virtue without any Place of
Refuge? Whither could he retreat
who was hated by the Ministers, or
misrepresented to the Prince? Where
could he be safe who was obnoxious
for his Wealth, for his too much Fame,
for his high Birth, for his Sanctity of
Manners, for his Wit, Wisdom, or for
his Valour? Would *Germanicus* have
endur'd the Jealousies of his Unkle *Ti-*
berius, the Insolence of *Piso* and *Plan-*
cina, and would he have staid to fall by
Poison at *Antioch*, if in any part of
the Earth he could have liv'd as became
the Grandson of *Augustus*? When any
Noble Roman was Unfortunate, Envied
or Suspected, we do not find he endea-
vour'd to save himself by Flight, he
chose rather to dye by his own hands,
because he knew there was no Region
to

to which he could retire with Safety. Whereas, as the World is now divided into several Dominions, he whom Tyrants or the Instruments of Tyranny persecute in one place, may meet with shelter in another, but there is no getting from the reach of Universal Monarchy.

By what has been here said, perhaps 'twill appear that this sort of Government, if set in a true Light, has not such a fair and inviting Aspect, as *Mexia* endeavours to give it. But the Bondage it lays upon our Bodys, is Easie, in comparison to what it would impose upon our Minds.

For all who own the same Dominion (if force can do it) will be brought to own the same Religion, 'tis an exercise of Power which most Princes think themselves bound in duty to perform: They believe their Thrones not safe without it. Even the good Emperors our *Spaniard* speaks of, endeavoured to make all Men of one Opinion in Religious matters. *Trajan* rais'd a Persecution against the Christian Church. *Hadrian* forbid
the

the *Jews* Circumcision, upon which there arose a War. There was a Persecution of the Christians in the Reign of *Antoninus Philosophus*, but 'twas rather attributed to *Lucius* his Son-in-Law, whom he had made *Cæsar*, than to him. Afterwards when the Emperors were converted, in their turns, as they were Orthodox or *Arrian*, they strove to unite all their Subjects under one and the same Belief.

He who aspires to Universal Empire, or who is in Possession of it, will always stand in fear of different Religions, he will look upon such Separations, as so many Endeavours to divide his Power, he will think the Separated Members or Heretical part, to be a Faction form'd against him, and that whosoever can put himself at the head of it, may be in a condition even to dispute with him for the Dominion of the whole; he will dread the desperate Courage and indefatigable Industry of a Religious Army; and for these Reasons, the Mighty Monarchs of the World, for many Ages, have pursued with the Sword, Fire, and Halts, such whom
either

either Error has withdrawn, or whom the true Dictates of Conscience have divided from the Publick Religion of their Country.

But here it may be objected, this Persecuting Spirit has prevail'd in little States and Dominions as well as in the greater; 'tis true; however then the Afflicted (according to Christs own direction) may fly from one Country to another, they may withdraw while the Storm Rages, and they may go where they cannot be reacht by the Churches unforgiving hand: But of this Benefit Mankind will be depriv'd in Universal Monarchy.

This the *Roman* Catholick Clergy have for some Years foreseen; and from the time they found themselves attack'd, they have endeavour'd to restore Temporal Power to its former height, that their Spiritual Power might be the more exalted.

If things could be so ordered, that no Nation could resist the Temporal Arm, the Spiritual Arm might extend

tend it self every where without Opposition.

Therefore of late they have us'd their utmost endeavours, that some one Country might have Sovereign Sway over all the rest: While *Spain* had the best prospect of it, they promoted the *Spanish* Interest in all the Courts of *Europe*, whose Designs they help'd on every where, by being their Spies, Advocates, and Intelligencers. 'Tis notorious that the Priests, especially the Jesuits (who meddle most in Worldly Business, and pretend to the deepest Reach in Policy) were every where of the *Spanish* Faction: But for some Years they have forsaken the House of *Austria*; and now, that the present *French* King, by his Conduct and Wisdom, has set that Kingdom up so high, they desire to advance him to a more eminent height, They plead his Cause, They Cabal for him, whatever they can do by Working upon the Superstition of Princes, or of the People is in order to his Greatness: In short, the Catholick Clergy are universally on the side and in the Interests of *France*. All

All which is so obvious to every private Mans Observation, that it needs not be enforced by any further Arguments.

That they are Friends to Universal Monarchy, and that they think it their Interest to promote it, is apparent enough ; but should they gain their Point, peradventure it would have other Effects than they Imagine ; 'Twould perhaps end in the weakening of their whole Hierarchy, if not, in all likelihood, it would lessen the Papal Authority, which must become Subservient to the power of such a Sovereign Lord, who, may be, would claim a Right to nominate Popes, as *Charlemagne* did, or at least that their Election should not be valid without his Confirmation, which Privilege all the Emperors uninterruptedly enjoy'd in the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Centuries. But these remote Fears do not Operate upon them, they think the See of *Rome* founded upon a firm Rock, they rely upon the early Impression of Reverence towards it, with which they take care to imbibe the Minds of Kings and Emperors ; they therefore desire one Man should

Rule, all inconfidence they shall Rule him, and indeed there is hardly any Prince, whom they hope not to govern either by his Virtue, or by his Vices.

If then the unbounded Dominion, to which our Neighbours so Visibly aspire, involves Mankind in the Mischiefs we have here Reckoned up, If it should put an end to Wars, only to introduce what is worse than War, Thralldom, Poverty and Persecution? If It would be a *Ipsa etiam Pace Sævum*, if it brings on Calamities, which the Valiant will be unable to oppose, and from which the fearful cannot fly, all Men who love their Country, should do their utmost to intercept the growth and Progress of such an Empire.

Power is a Plant that from a small Seed, will grow to a Prodigious height, 'twill draw to its own Roots all the Nourishment, and it will so spread it self as to overshadow whatever is round about it; 'tis not difficult to interrupt its beginnings, but when it has attain'd to its full Strength, 'tis hardly to be Shaken; we should contemplate *Primas Dominandi Spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus adesse*

adefse Studia & Ministros. Before a Prince has fully establiſh'd his omi-
nion common Interest may unite his
Neighbours in a common danger, but
if he be suffered to fix himself strongly,
Fear, Interest, and Flattery, will inter-
vene: Nations will Crowd in, and beg
they may be admitted to receive his
Yoke; some will want his Protection,
some will request his Aid, in order
to oppress others, some States will
perhaps Submit, as being careless who
has the Dominion so they may have
the Trade and Riches, and there is no
sort of Corruption that will not enter
into the Hearts of Commonwealths,
Princes, and their People, when once
the Virtuous Thoughts of defending
Publick Liberty are extinguished: So
that a King, who by the Cowardize or
Folly of some of his Neighbours, is
suffered to become an Overmatch for
the Rest, will in no long course of
time have the whole World Slaves
either to his Fortune, or to his Power;
and if some Sparks of Virtue and
Courage remain in any single Nation,
so as that it should hold out for a
while, and desire to preserve Natural
Freedom, 'twill be left to stand alone,
or

or rather Mankind will become so deprav'd as that all the rest will give their helping hands, and join in its Destruction.

With as much Brevity as so copious a Subject was capable of, I have here describ'd some of the great Empires that have been hitherto erected ; I have shewn what Calamities the unbounded Ambition of desiring to engross the whole, has brought upon Humanekind ; and I have done it with this Intention that the Young Nobility and Gentry of *England*, to whom these Papers are directed, by having a short view before 'em of past times, may be the better able to form a Judgment of the Future.

**THE
APPENDIX.**

THE Author did not at first think of incerting the following Appendix, for fear of swelling this Book to too large a Bulk; but he has since consider'd, That having in the Essay upon War, Peace and Alliances, gone against the received Opinion and common Doctrine, he is obliged to produce his Authorities. The Records are very Curious, and contain many Things that will be a light to History: They who give themselves the Trouble to read 'em, will find many Precedents, which for Brevity sake, were omitted in the Essay. All the said Records have been carefully examin'd by the Author at the Tower.

The

T H E
A P P E N D I X.

PUR ceo qe le Roi ne doit impren-
dre fait de Gurre contre nully,
ne alier hos de son Roiaulm,
Saunz commun Assent de son
Baronage pur moult des perils qe pur-
rout avenir a lui & a son Roiaulm;
nous ordeignons, qe le Roi desormes
ne aille hors de son Roiaulm, nenpreng
contre nully fait de Guerre sans com-
mun Assent de son Baronage, & ceo en
Parlement; Et si autrement le face, &
si sur cele emprise face semoundre son
Service, soit la semounce per nul; &
fil aveign qe le Roi empreign fait de
Guerre contre nully ou aille hors de Ter-
re per assent de son dit Baronage & be-
soign qil mette Gardien en son Roiaulm,
dunt le mette per commun assent de son
Baronage & ceo en Parlement.

Rot. Ord.
5 Edw. 2.
N. 9.

Rot. Parl.
5 Edw. 3.
N. 3.

Item en dit Parlement si demanda le dit Evesque de *Wyncestre* Chancellor de per nostre Seigneur le Roi en sa presence de Lercevesque de *Canterbier* & de tous les autres Prelatz Countes Barouns & autre Grantz du Roiaulm illoques estantz, lur Concealx & avis lequel il lur sembleroit mielx, qe nostre Seigneur le Roy D'engleterre y prest voie de Proces od le Roi de *France* des busoignes per entre eux en manere comme le dit Roi de *France* avoit premis Cestassaver qe le dit Roi D'engleterre ellirroit fis sept ou oyt des Peres de *France* queux il vorreit & qe ceux fis sept ou oyt tressassent de jour en jour tantqe au fyn, & ce qils accorderent & ordinereint le Roi de *France* perferroit en voie de amiable Trette per Alliance de Mariage ou la Guerre. Les queux Prelatz Countes Barouns & autres Granz respondirent & conseillèrent pur le mielx uniement & checun pur lui se veralement eant regardas perils qe poient avenir per les deux voies cestassaver d'entrer en proces ou la Guerre qe nostre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre y prest amiable Trette od le Roi de *France* des busoignes susdites & pur ce qe avis fust as touz qil ne seroit
mie

mie bien que la manere de cele Trette fust trop pnblic einz tenu ferre, si demanda let dit Chancellor de per nostre dit seigneur le Roi de touz les Prelatz & autres Grantz fuscites queux ils vouloient & conseillèrent que trettaient des dites busoignes; a qoy touz les Prelatz & autres Grantz respondirent que nostre Seigneur le Roi y nomast & esleut tieux come il sembloit que bons feuisseient a Tretter. Et sur ce nostre Seigneur le Roi noma Lercevesque de Canterbiers, le Chancellor & Tresorer, les Evesques d *Ely* & de *Wircestre* les Countes Marechal & de *Garenne*, Monsieur *Henry de Beaumont*, Monsieur *Henry de Percy*, Monsieur *Hugh de Courtnay*, Monsieur *Jeffrey Lescrop*, Monsieur *William de Herle*, Monsieur *Johan de Stonore* & Monsieur *Johan de Cantabrigge*, ceux pris a eux tielx come il pleroit a nostre Seigneur le Roi trettaient des busoignes od le Roi de *France* come desus est dit. Et en mesme le Parlement si fust accorde pur le mielx per nostre Seigneur le Roi & les ditz Ercevesques Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz esluz a Tretter come sus est dit qen totes maneres continuance se face de per nostre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre de amiable Trette per voie de Marriage ou en autre covenable manere ovesque le

Roi de *France* pur Restitution avoir de la Terre de Agenys & le droit de la Corone sauver & qe maundez soient au dit Roi de *France* pur Treter en amiable manere sur les dites bufoignes come sus est dit Les Evesques de *Wyncestre* & *Wyrcestre* & Norwys deux ou un de eux solone ce qil plerra a nostre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre & auxint le Seigneur de *Beaumont* de *Percy* & de *Montagu* Monsieur *Jeffrey Lescrop* & Maistre *Johan de Shordick*.

Rot. ibi-
dem. N. 4.

Quant as bufoignes touchantes la Terre Dirland si est accordé per nostre Seigneur le Roi Prelatz Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz en mesme le Parlement, qe nostre Seigneur le Roi sapparaille d aler a mesmes les Parties Dirland a plus tost qe bonnement purra & qe nostre Seigneur le Roi mande endementiers aucuns Grantz & Fiables de son Roiaulm od poer des Gentz D'armes as dites parties en aide de la Justice & des autres Liges Gentz le Roi illoques a faire le bien qils purront contre les contraireantz, Et purce qe grantz Malx sont avenuz einz ces heures en la dite terre D'irland pur ce qe les Grantz du Roiaulm qont Terres en ycelle ont baille la Garde de mesmes lur Terres as Gentz meins couvenables & meins suffisantz a ce qe le Roi ad entendu si est ac-

cor-

A P P E N D I X.

5

corde per le Roi & per tot son Conseil en mesme le Parlement qe les ditz Grantz qont terres en mesme la Terre D'Ireland facent garder au peril q'appent lur Terres illoques per si couvenables & si suffisantz Gentz qe mal ny a veigne per lur defaute. Et sur ce soient Briefs mandez as ditz Grantz eanz Terres en *Ireland* de faire ce qest accorde soient auxi Briefs mandez as tous les Viscountes D'engleterre de Crier qe touz ceux qont Terres en *Ireland* les facent Garder come est dit au peril qu'appent.

ET puis en plein Parlement, si fust prononcie per le dit Ercevesque en Fourme de Predication en la Presence nostre Seigneur le Roi & destouz les Prelatz & autres Grantz la Cause pur qele le Parlement estoit somons. Et auxint per l'Evesque de *Wyncestre* Chancellor en fourme de Predication coment le Roi de *France* avoit ordine son aler devers la Terre Sainte ore en Martz en deux Ans prechein avenir & qe molt luy plerroit d'aver la Compignie nostre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre en ce voiage entendant per tant affaire meilour Exploite sur les Ennemys Dieu & a ce faire avoit il requis nostre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre

Rot. Parl.
6 Edw. 3.
pars 1. N.
5.

per ses Lettres & auxint per ses Messages
Et ce fust l Encheson pur quoi le Parle-
ment feust summons & sur ce demanda
il deper nostre Seigneur le Roi les Con-
cealx & avys des Prelatz Countes Ba-
rouns & de touz les antres Grantz en
plein Parlement.

Ibid. N. 9. Et quant al aler de nostre Seigneur le
Roi en la Terre Sainte, Les Prelatz
Countes Barouns & touz les autres So-
mons a mesme le Parlement loerunt
molt le bon Purpos & la bon volunte
qe le nostre Seigneur le Roi ad dy aler,
mes il lour sembloit qe le temps dy aler
ore en Martz a deux Ans si est trop
Court pur plusours Raisons; Et est assen-
tu & accordé en plein Parlement qil
preigne son aler a la Purification prechein
avenir en troize Ans mes
Avys est a touz qe si les deux Rois pre-
ignent lur voiage ensemble qe pur tant le
dit voiage seroit le plus honourable &
plus profitable l aide de Di-
eux, si est accorde & assentu per touz
en plein Parlement qe si avis soit a no-
stre Seigneur le Roi per son bon Con-
seil & qil soit purveu dy aler & enstat
& qil se peust bonement faire & per Tret-
te od le Roi de *France* homme puisse es-
loigner ou encourcer le temps qome le
preigne. Item

Item feust pronuncie deper nostre ^{Ibid. N.}
 Seigneur le Roi per la Bouche Monsieur ^{10.}
Jeffrey Lescrop coment autres fois au dar-
 rein Parlement Somons a *Westminstre*
 l'an quynt Accorde fu que sur les debatz
 muez perentre nostre Seigneur le Roi &
 le Roi de *France* en droit des Terres per
 de la que continuaunce se fait per Trette
 per voie de Marriage ou en autre couve-
 nable manere & sur ce nostre Seigneur
 le Roi D'engleterre avoit mandé ses Mes-
 sages au Roi de *France* les queux ont tret-
 te ovesque le dit Roi de *France* & ont re-
 porté a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi que le
 Roi de *France* ad dit, que sil pleist a no-
 stre Seigneur le Roi D'engleterre de ve-
 nir od luy personnellement qil fera plus
 de grace a luy que a nul autre, pur qoy
 il busoign de mander per Temps Messa-
 ges a lavant dit Roi de *France*. Et sur
 ce demanda le dit Monsieur *Jeffrey* de-
 per nostre Seigneur le Roi les Consealx
 & avys des dits Prelatz Countes & Ba-
 rouns & autres Grantz en plein Parle-
 ment Qen Cas que les dits Messages ore
 a Mander ou dit Roi de *France* reman-
 dent a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi D'en-
 gleterre que per sa venue les busoignes se
 puissent amander, sil en doit prendre le
 dit voyage vers le dit Roi de *France* ou
 ne-

nemie. A qoi touz les Prelatz Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz fufdits ont respondu quils se affentent bien qe l'empeschement ousté des fufdites Malveyes issint ore levez & le Roi D'engleterre en puisse avir profit per son aler en propre Personne au Roi de *France* come fus est dit & qe per tant la busoigne se puisse amander qil y aille & auxint est assentu per aucunes enchesons qe le Aler nostre Seigneur le Roi en *Irland* nadgaires assentu au prechein Parlement preigne delay tant qe a la Feste de *St. Michel* prechein avenir, Et qe endimentiers nostre Seigneur le Roi mande aucunes Gentz d'armes & autres qe Legiers sont en pernanz & traveillantz a les Parties fufdites en aide des ses bons Gentz illoques.

Rot. ibid.
pars 2. N.
1.

A quen jour estoit pronuncie per l'Evesque de *Wyncestre* Chancellor nostre Seigneur le Roi la Cause pur qele le Parlement fust Somons cestassaver pur les busoignes touchantes la Terre *Dirland* devers la qele Terre le Roi avoit ordine son passage pur refreindre od l'aid de Dieux la Malice de ses Rebelx & Enemys illoques qi avoient occupez & de jour en autre occuperent ses Terres Chastielx & Manoirs & de ses lieges Gentz illoques en destruant si avant come en eux feust
mesme

mesme les Liges, Et sur ce furent les Prelatz Countes Barouns & autres Grantz du Parlement chargez en lur Legeances de Conseiller sur la Seurance de la Terre D'engleterre. Les queux Prelatz & autres Grantz demenderent Temps d'avisier tant qa Ioedy prechein suant Cestassaver le second Jour de Parlement & puismesme le jour furent les Articles sous escriptz luez & assentuz devant le Roi & de touz les Grantz en mesme le Parlement, &c.

A quen jour de Ioedy en euent Trette & Deliberation ; Cestassaver les ditz Prelatz ^{Ibid N. 3.} per eux mesmes & les ditz Countez Barouns & autres Grantz per eux mesmes & auxint les Chevelers de Countes per eux mesmes ; si respondirent qils avoient grant Consideration as noveles qe de jour en autre viendrent des Parties Descoce & as perils qepoient de leger avenir au Roiaulm D'Engleterre & au Poeple le Roi per la absence du Roi hors du Roiaulm en cas qe la Pees nadgaires faite entre les Roiaulms D'engleterre & Descoce feust rom-pue. Et conseillèrent pur le mielx qe nostre Seigneur le Roi demorast en Engleterre & retreissist devers les Parties de North & qil eust ovesqe lui Sages Gentz & forcibles pur sauvacion du dit Roiaulm & de son Poeple en cas qe les
Gentz

Gentz Descoce ou autres y voleient entrer pur mal faire. Et auxint conseillèrent qe le Roi y mandast forcibles Gentz & fages as Parties Dirland, & auxint d argent en eide de ses Liges Gentz illoques, &c.

Rot. ib. P.
3. n. 1.]

Et comment le Roi ottreiant lur Consealx si est venuz & coment puis pur autres Noveles qe lui vindrent a Everwicke des dites Parties Descoce de ce qe Edward Baillof se avoit fait coroner Roi descoce. Per le Roi & per son Conseil adonques illoques assemblez le Roi avoit fait semondre a ore son Parlement a Everwicke & qe la Cause du Somons estoit qe nostre Seigneur le Roi voleit aver les consealx de ses bons Gentz & Liges de son Roiaulm Prelatz & autres lequel il se devoit trere vers Escoce en clamant le Demeigne de mesme la Terre ou de soi faire partie a prendre lavantage daver en Service comme ses Ancestres avoient, ou la value. Et sur ce Chargea nostre Seigneur le Roi per la Bouche le dit Monsieur Jeffrey en plein Parlement meisme le Marsdy les Prelatz Countes Barouns, & autres Grantz & les Chevalers des Countes & Gentz de la Commune qe eu regard a l'Honour & profit de luy &

& son Roiaulm, & a ce qe au temps de la
 Pees fait nadgaires perentre les Gentz
 D'engleterre & les Gentz Descoce qil e-
 stoit deinz Age & ne mie de son pro-
 pre poer einz mesme per autres. Lui
 conseillassent & donassent lour avys &
 qils eussent auxint regard a ce qe Laun-
 cestre le Baillof forsit encountre Lael
 nostre Seigneur le Roi qore est. Les
 ceux Prelatz od la Clergie per eux
 mesmes & les Countees & Barouns per
 eux mesmes & Chevalers & Gents des
 Counteez & Gentz de la commune per
 eux mesmes ent Treterent & conseille-
 rent tantqe a Vendredy prechein suant.
 Et mesme le Vendredy en plein Parle-
 ment les Prelatz per eux mesmes &
 les Countez & Barouns per eux mesmes
 & les Chivalers des Counteez per eux
 mesmes & puis touz en comune Respon-
 dirent. Qe en si grande & chargeante
 busoigne, & si pres touchante le Roi
 font Poeple & font Roiaulm ne oseint
 ne saveint Conseiller sans lavys des Pre-
 latz des ceux forsqe Trois Cestassaver
 Lercevesqe Deverwicke les Evesques de
 Nichole & de Kardoil, les Abbees
 D'verwicke & de Seleby estoient ve-
 nuz & des autres Grants du Roiaulm
 qe adonques ne feurent pas venuz. Et
 sur ce requistrent nostre Seigneur le Roi
 quil

quil voufist continuer mefme le Parle-
ment tanqe as Utaves de Seinte Hiller
prechein avenir deftre adonques a mefme
lieu D'everwicke & mander chargeable-
ment as Prelatz, &c. — La quele
Requefte noftre Seigneur le Roi ot-
treia, &c.

Rot. ibid.
pars 4.
N. 7.

Les jeux treterent de mefmes les
Bufoignes come fus eft dit, du dit Joe-
dy tantqe a Marsdy prechein fuant &
mefme le Marsdy, fi pronuncia l'Evesqe
de Wynceftre Chancellor, en la Prefence
noftre Seigneur le Roi & de tous les
Grantz en plein Parlement, coment les
ditz Prelatz & Grantz & Chevalers des
Counteez & Gentz de Comune avoient
trete od grand Diligence & Deliberation
come accorde fu, dont noftre Seigneur le
Roi les Mercia Molt & coment adonques
ne pas pleinement accorde
ceo qe le Roi devoit fair de mefmes les bu-
foignes & qe le Roi voleit prendre la-
vys du Pape, & auxint du Roi de
France leqel lui avoit mandé fes Let-
tres fur afcunes chofes touchant mefmes
les bufoignes, & outre per l'avys de eux
& d'autres faire ce qil deveroit a fon
Honour, al eide de Dieux. Et auxint
pronuncie le dit Chancellor qe le Roi
voleit ordiner Gar dens fur la Marche, &
qil

qil voleit aver pres de lui Sages Gentz de son Roialme, qe lui poeint Conseiller en ses bufoignes qant il ent avereit Mester, Cestassaver Lercevesqe d'Everwicke L'Evesqe de Norwiz le Seigneur de Percy, Monsieur William de Clynton, Monsieur William de Donun, & William de Shareshall, &c.

ET puis furent purposez les Causes de la Somons de cest Parlement, & monstrees as Grantz & a ceux de la commune pur ent avoir leur Consealx & leur avys qe ent feroit mieux a faire. Et furent trois Causes purposez dont le primer fu qe Chacun Grant & Petit endroit soi penseroit la manere coment la Peez deinz le Roialme purroit mieutz & se deveroit plus seurement estre gardee. La second Cause coment la Marche Descoce & la Terre devers le North purroit mieutz estre gardee & defendu des Ennemys Descoce. La tierce Cause coment la meer ferroit Gardee des Ennemys quilz ne feissent dammage, ne entraissent le Roialme pur destruire le.

Rot. Parl.
13. Ed. 3.
Pars 1. n. 3.

Pri.

Rot. Par.
14. Ed. 3.
Pars 2. n. 2.

PRimerement lour estoit dit coment nostre Seigneur le Roi avant son Darrein departir Dengleterre per la Reson qil entendre davoire affaire de ses Ennemys qe furent sur meer devant luy & il ne poeit favoire en certeine ce qe aviendroit a lui & as foens qe passerent devers les ditz Ennemys en sa Compaigne, si avoit il de semondre ce Parlement pur assembler les Grantz & autres des Communes a mesme Parlement, si qils feussent prest de Tretter & ordeyner sur les choses qe aviendroient a lui & as foens & auxint de Tretter sur la Garde de la Pees de Terre & de la Marche Descoce & de la Mee & puis pur prendre Conseil & assent comment & en quele manere, &c.

Rot. Parl.
17 Edw. 3.
N. 7.

PRimerement fu touchez qe la Sovereigne & principale Cause est de treter & Conseiller od les Grantz & communes de Roialme ce qe sera multz affaire sur les choses touchantes nostre Seigneur le Roi en droit de les Trues prises en Bretayne entre luy & son

son adverfaire de France & puis apres des choses qe touchent l Estat de Nostre Seigneur le Roi & le Gouvernement & la salvete de sa Terre D'engleterre & de son Poeple & Relevation de leur estat.

Mes pur ce qe Monsieur Barthelmewe de Burghresh qi fu ovesqe nostre Seigneur le Roi en Bretayne a la Prise de les Darreines Trewes savera mieultz purposer coment les busoignes sont alleez illoques qe le Chancelier, si fu commandez per nostre Seigneur le Roi au dit Monsieur Barthelmewe de purposer la manere de la Prise des dites Trewes.

Et le dit Monsieur Barthelmewe com- N. 8.
mencea de raconter la manere come nostre Seigneur le Roi apres ce quil avoit empris la Guerre de France per assent des Prelatz Grantz & Comunes de son Roialme D'engleterre pur ses droits & Heritages illoques conquer avoit plusieurs foitz passez la Meer ove son Host & quel exploit il y avoit eu & coment qe apres son darreine Passage od son Host en Bretayne il avoit chivauche grante partie de la Dutchee de Bretayne & od le'eide de Dieux pris villes Chatelx & Forcelettes tant qil vient a la Cittee de Vanez ou il per avys des Grantz qi furent pres de lui mist siege, il fu reqis per le Seinte Piere le Pape qe a la Reverence de Dieux & de Seinte Es-
B b glise

glise & pur le prier du dit Seinte Piere le Pape qi lui envoya deux Cardinalx per bien de Pees & pur monstrier a nostre Seigneur le Roi ce qils avoient en charge de la Court de Rome touchant celle busoigne & pur eschuer les Malx qe sont avenuz & venant de jour en autre per la Guerre il se voufit assentier a Pees ou as Trewes deinz lez queux Trettez de Pees se purroit faire, & coment nostre Seigneur le Roi apperceivant qe la fourme de celles Trewes fu honourable & profitable a lui & as soens assenti as dites Trewes au fin qe durantes celles Trewes Trette de Pees se ferroit devant la dite Pape come meen Amy & non pas come Judge ne Compromessaire & en Cas qil purroit aver bone Pees & honorable pur lui qil le pendroit, & si ce non qil pursueroit la qerele come devant. Et dist outre le dit Monsieur Barthelmewe de per nostre Seigneur le Roi qe per Cause qe ceste guerre fu emprise & Commencee per Comun Assent des dites Prelatz Grantz & Comunes le Roi ne voleit treter de Pees faire ne Pees prendre sans lour Comune Assent. Pur qoy les dits Prelatz & Grantz furent chargez de assembler per eux en la Chambre Blaunche yce Iody le primer Jour de May pur Treter Conseiler & assentir entre eux si nostre
Seig-

Seigneur le Roi deveroit envoyer Messa-
ges a la Court de Rome pur mounstrer &
purposer ses droitz illoques devant le dit
Seinte Piere le Pape come dessus est dit
ou nemie & en mesme le manere furent
Chargez les Chivalers des Countees &
Comunes de assembler en la Chambre
depeincte & de Treter Conseiller & as-
sentir entre eux sur mesme la busoigne &
de rapporter leur Responce & leur Assent
en dit Parlement le dit loedy.

A quen jour les ditz Prelatz & Grantz Ibid. N. 9.
assemblez en la Chambre Blaunche res-
ponderent que leur fust avys que les dites
Trewes estoient honourables & profita-
bles a nostre Seigneur le Roi & a touz
les soens & que chescun Christien devero-
it voler que la Guerre qest si grande & si
nosente a touz Christiens fust Pees & fi-
nie en bone & couvenable manere. Per
goy les ditz Prelats & Grantz pur eux
saccorderent & assenterent que les dites
Trewes se tenissent solonc la Fourme &
l effect dicelles & que certaines & solemp-
nes Messages soient mandez a la Court de
Rome pur monstrer & purposer devant le
Seinte Piere le Pape come devant Meen
Amye & noun pas come juge, ne come
compromissair les droitz nostre Seigneur
le Roi sur les Challenges & de Treter
outre de la Pees solonc la fourme des dites

Trewes. Et puis vinderent les Chivalers des Countees & les Comunes & responderent per Monsieur William Trussel en la dite Chambre blanche qi en presence de nostre Seigneur le Roi & des dits Prelatz & Grantz purposa pur les Chivalers & Comunes qils se font pleinment ascentuz & accordez a les dites Trewes tenir au fin que bon & honourable Pees se preigne & prirent outre les dits Communes, que nostre Seigneur le Roi envoiait solempnes Messages pur purposer ses droits & Treter de la Pees come desus est dit ; Et en Cas que nostre Seigneur le Roi purra avir honourable Pees & profitable pur lui & pur les foens, qil condescendrait a la dite Pees avir, & in Cas qil ne la purra mye aver, les dites Comunes Granteront de lui eider & maintenir sa qerele ove tote lour Poair.

Rot. Parl.
18 Edw. 3.
N 6.

— **A**U qen loedy en presence de nostre Seigneur le Roi & de Monsieur son Fitz le Prince de Gales & du dit Ercevesqe & les Eveques de Loundres, Cicestre, Cestre, Baa, Sarum, Nichole, Cardeil & Leflit de Hereford & des Abbees de Westminstre & de Reding & Priours de Coventry & de Rouchestre, & auxint des Countes de Northampton, Warrewic, Oxon, Pembroc, Suffolc, Hun-

Huntingdon, Devonshire, & Anegos, & des Seigneurs de Wake, Percy, Berkeley, Monsieur Hugh D'Espencer, Monsieur Rauf de Nevil & autres Barouns, & Bannerettz, Chivalers des Countees, Citeyns des Citees, & Burgeys des Bourgs, Summons au dit Parlement furent purposez les Causes du Summons de mesme le Parlement, per le dit Chancelier per Commandement du Roi en la Fourme qe sensuit; Cestassaver, Seigneurs en les Trewes prises accordez & affirmez per serement en Bretagne entre autres Pointz est accordez qe les Trewes soient gardez en Bretaine entre les Rois & leur Adherdantz tut eussent ils droit en la Dutchee, &c.

— Purquoi nostre Seigneur le Roi ^{Ibid. N. 7.} pria & chargea les dits Prelatz Countes & Barouns & Comunes qils considerez les choses fus dites ils voillent Mettre l'eide & le Conseil qe assiert en sauvation des droitz & del Honour nostre Seigneur le Roi & de eux meismes. Les quex choses reciteez per le dit Ercevesqe oieez & entenduz, Les Prelatz Countes Barouns, & les autres des Comunes Prierent d'avoir ent Deliberation tanqe a Lundy prechein suant & de mesme le Lundy pur ce qils na'voient mie adonques pris pleinement deliberation, de jour en jour tan-

N. 8.

ge au Meskerdy en la veille de Seint
 Johan. Au qen jour le dit Ercevesqe, les
 Evesques de Londres, Cestre, Cicestre,
 Eaa, Ely, Sarum, Nichole, Cardoil & les
 lit de Hereford, Les Abbees de Seint Au-
 bon, Westminster, Abindon, Waltham,
 Reding, Labbe del Hide de Wincestre &
 le Priour de Coventre, Les Countes de
 Northampton, Warrewic, Hutingdon,
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 chol de Cantelowe & les Communes du
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 che en la Presence nostre Seigneur le
 Roi, Eantz regard as grantz Mescheifs
 & perils qe purront avenir a nostre Seig-
 neur le Roi & a touz ses suggitz & alli-
 ez si la Malice de son dit Adversaire ne
 soit arrestuz, Et consideranz les grantz
 charges qe les Grantz & les Communes
 D'engleterre ont eu & soeffert per Cause
 de la Guerre qi ad durez si longement per
 seyintes Trewes & soeffrances qont este
 prizez einz ces heures, & veantz over-
 tement, qe si fyn de ceste Guerre en bo-
 ne Pees se deveroient prendre, ce ne po-
 et estre sanz, grant Force des Gentz &
 Grant Poair, si Prierent toutz d'un Assent
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 a

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qil voufist faire Fyne de ceste Guerre ou
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Pape ne dautry il ne lest son voiage tanqe
il eit fait fyn en une Manere ou en autre.

A qele priere le Roi ottroia pleine-
ment, mes purce qe ceste chose ne se *Ibid. N. 9.*
purra faire sanz grant Eide, & convena-
ble si granterent per ceste Cause, &c.

A Qen jour furent les Causes du Par- *Rot. Parl.*
lement purposez per Monsieur *21 Ed. 3.*
William de Thorpen en la Presence nostre *N. 4.*
Seigneur le Roi & des Prelatz Countes
Barouns & Comunes du Roialme illoeqes
assemblez ; Et furent deux Causes tou-
chantes especialement nostre Seigneur le
Roi & tout le Roialme D'engleterre. Cest as-
saver L'une Cause de la Guerre qele nostre
Seigneur le Roi ad empris contre son Ad-
versaire de France per comun Assent de
toutz les Grantz & Communes de sa Ter-
re, susdite en diverses Parlements qi ount
este cea en arrere, come souvent foitz ad
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Temps de la Trewe qore est serra finie

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La'utre Cause de la Pees D'engleterre, comment & en qele manere ell se purra mieutz garder; & sur ce fut Commandez as Chivalers des Countees & autres des Communes qils se deveroient trere ensemble, & se qils ent sentiroient, le deveroient monstrier au Roi & as Grantz de son Conseil; Les queux Chivalers & autres des Comunes eu ent avysement per Qatres Jours au drein respondirent al Article touchant la Guerre en la manere que sensuit.

Ibid. N. 5.

Tres Redoutz Seigneur, qant a vostre Guerre & l'Arraie dicelle, nous fumes si mesconizantz & simples que nous ne savons ne poions ent Conseiller; Dequen nous prions a vostre gratiouse Seignourie nous avoir del Ordenaunce pur excusez & que vous pleise per avys des Grantz & Sages de vostre Conseil ordener sur cell poient ceo que mieutz vous semblera pur honour & profit de vous & de vostre Roialme; Et ceo que serra ensi ordenez per Assent & Accorde de vous & des Grantz susdits, nous nous assentons bien, & la tendrons ferme & estable.

Rot. ib. N.

44.

Item prie la Commune des Countees que come Commission vient d'enquere de tous yceux qi avoient Cent Soulez de Terre x l. de Terre xx l. de Terre xl l. de Terre & outre tange a Mil. Marchee sur-

surquoy enquestes furent ove grante diligence per mieltz vanees des Countees a ce jurez & retournez en la Chancellerie ne mie purce breif del Eschequer vient de lever d'ascuns le double d'ascuns le treble de ce qe feust trouvez per bones Enquestes pur Archiers, Hobelours & Gentz D'armes a grante destruction & Empoverissement d'ascuns & en contre la Leie de la Terre & auxi breif vient de lever d'ascuns petites Villes qi ne sont Citees ne Burgs xx Marcz xx L. de volente faunz nulle manere de proces; dont la dite Commune prie pur dieu Remedie de si come nostre dit Seigneur le Roi ad premys de sa bone grace de faire droit as tous yceux qe pleindre se voudront.

Resp. Si nulle tiele Imposition feust faite per grante necessitee & ce ove l'assent des Countes Barouns & autres Grantz & ascuns des Communes adonques presentz nientmeyns nostre Seigneur le Roi ne voet qe tiele Imposition noun duement soit trait en Consquence.

— **P**urquoi tut adiprimes nostre Seigneur le Roi mercie molt a ses Communes des eides qils lui ont faits de lour bone volonte qil ad totes foits trove en eux & se ent loe molt & les prie qils
fa.

Rot. Par.
25. Ed. 3.
Pars 2.n.7.

se voillent avyser sur les dites choses tanque a cest Meskerdy prechein suant & qils soient mesme le Meskerdy a Westminstre en la Chambre de-peincte, tousse apres le soleil lever pur ent aver deliberation & doier si nostre dit Seigneur le Roi les vorra plus monstrez touchant la Cause de son Parlement avant dit, & de monstrez a nostre Seignour le Roi leur Grievances si uulles y soient dont bufoigne de faire Remedie en cest Parlement.

Ibid. N. 8. Apres ceux choses issint monstrez le dit Sire William chargea les Communes de per le Roi qe pur abreger leur demoere en la ville & auxint pur hastif Exploit fair des dites bufoignes, & dautres qe les feroient monstrez de per le Roi qil deveroient assembler en une Place devant leur departier de Westminstre & eslire xxiiij ou xxx Personnes de eux touz ceux vendroient a Landemayn en la dite Chambre depeincte & nostre Seigneur le Roi y mendroit a eux ascunes des Grantz d'aver Parlaunce ovesqe eux des bufoignes avant dites; Et qe le remenant des Communes se trehissent el Chapitre de Westminstre, si qe ceux xxx ou xxiiij Personnes issint esluez entendue celle Parlaunce des Grantz la devoroient nuncier a leur Compaignons de la Commune & qe apres deliberation ent eve entre touz les Communes, & de commune accorde

corde en faite, Relation puisse estre faite a nostre Seigneur le Roi, de ceo qe ferra per eux assentuz & accordez des busoignes avant dites; Et puis au Vendredy prechein suant viendrent totes les Communes devaunt le Prince & les autres Grantz dans la Chambre Blaunche ou feust dit per Monsieur Barthelemewe de Burghershe Chamberleyn nostre Seigneur le Roi, la Malice & la Fauxine de son Adversaire de Fraunce & coment, puis les Trewes darreinement prises & accordez le dit Adversaire les ad de bruse ore de novel overtement sur la Meer & devers Gascoigne Bretagne, & les Parties des Caley & S'afforce per totes les sotiltees & ymaginations qil & son Conseil saveront de grever nostre Seigneur le Roi & ses Subgits totes partz, Et qe sur ceo les dites Communes se deveroient diligeaument avyser de ceo qe lour semblera qe feroit mieutz a faire pur nostre Seigneur le Roi d'arester la Malice & la Fauxine avant dites pur Salvation de lui, & de son Roialme & de touz ses Subgits; Et maintenant apres celle monstrance, le dit Seigneur William dist as dites Communes qe sil avoient uulles Petitions des Greivances, &c.

Et puis apres long Treté & deliberation
eves per les Communes ove la Communal-
tee, & l'avys dascuns des Grantz a eux
en-

Ibid. N.

9.

envoiez si bien sur une Eide qe covendroit a nostre Seigneur le Roi de contresteer la Malice de son dit Adversaire, &c.

Rot. Parl.
28 Ed. 3.
N. 2.

Quant a la seconde Cause du dit somons, fust dit coment per Reson de la Guerre entre nostre Seigneur le Roi & son Adversaire de France grandes Costages avoient esté faites & Damages & Perils sans nombre ent avenuz a lui & tot son Poeple dont il ad tres grant Compassion; & coment au darrein Conseil lour fust Monstre qe pur eschuir tiels Damages Costatages & Perils come pres le Roi de son mouvement de mesne sans autre Conseil severroit prendre & agree aufyn qe la Pees se purra reformer entre lui & son dit Adversaire & auxint les Offres & demaundes d'une Part & d'autre & coment sovent devant cel Temps le Roi avoit envoie ses Messages des plus Nobles & des plus Grantz de son Roialme as Parties de dela de Treter oves les Messages son dit Adversaire, de quen Trete Homme lour monstra plus a plein devant lour departir du Parlement.

Ib. N. 58.

Et apres les dites Petitions leves, & Responses ent dounez, si fust monstre per Monsieur Bartholomewe de Burghershe Chamberleyn le Roi a les Grantz & Communes illoeqes presantes coment
Trai-

Traitee y avoit este entre les Messages nostre Seigneur le Roi & de son dit Adversaire de France, & coment y avoit bone Espoir de Issue final & greable ové l'Eide de Dieu, quel Issue nostre Seigneur le Roi ne voet prendre sanz Assent des Grantz & de ses Communes ; Perqoy le dit Chamberleyn enquist & demandue de per nostre dit Seigneur le Roi des dits Grantz & Communes s'ils vorroient assentir & accorder a la Pees en Cas que homme purroit attendre de la avoir per Tretee & accorde des Parties ; A qoy les dites Communes d'un Assent & d'un Accord Respondirent que quel Issue que pleust a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi & les Grantz de prendre du dit Tretee, feust agreable a eux ; sur qen Respnose dist le Chaumberleyn a les dites Communes, donques vous voillez assentir au Tretee de Pees perpetuele, si home le puisse avoir ? Et les dites Communes resqondirent entierement & uniement, oil, oil, surqoy feust commandé per Mestre Michel de Nothberg Gardein du Privy Seal nostre Seigneur le Roi a Sire Johan de Swynleye, Notair Papal, qil ent ferroit Instrument Publie.

— FUST dit per Monsieur Willi-
 am de Shareshul Chief Ju-
 stice nostre Seigneur le Roi, qil plust a
 no-

Rot. Parl.
 29. Ed. 3.
 N. 4.

N. 5.

nostre Seigneur que la Cause du Somons du dit Parlement soit monstre overtment a totes Gentz per Monsieur Wauter de Manny, qi avoit pleine Conufance de tout la fait touchant la Cause du dit Somons. Et apres le dit Monsieur Wauter commença Monstrer Comment nostre Seigneur le Roi envoya nadgaires ses solempnes Messages a Caley de Treter sur la Pees ove les Messages son Adversaire de Fraunce en presence du Cardinal de Boloigne qi y vint per celle Cause, del Ordinance nostre Seinte Pier le Pape, & apres le dit Tretee en certains Pointz ent accordez, nostre Seigneur le Roi, juxt l'acord pris entre les Messages envoya le Duc de Lancastre & autres ses Messages a la Court de Rome pur accomplir & finalement parfourmir en presence nostre dit Seinte Pier les choses issint devant Tretees, qeles ne purroient prendre Exploit solonc le dit accord pur defaute & Coupe trouvee de part son dit Adversaire. Et durante la demecre des dits Messages a la Court per la dit Cause, si vient le Roi de Navarre sovent aus dits Ducs se compleignant des Greivances tortes & Duresces qil avoit soeffert du Roi de Fraunce afferment, & per serment affiant, qil feroit volentiers Alliance ove nostre

Seig-

N. 6.

Seigneur le Roi contre son dit Adversair
 ove tout son poair & tant empresse le dit
 Ducs par ses soviers Parliaunces, qe le
 Ducs lui promist qe l'Alliaunce se pren-
 droit, sil pleust a nostre dit Seigneur, &
 qe sur ceo il sappareillerent si enforce-
 ment come il purroit & des Gentz & de
 Navie, & se viendroit a les Isles de Ger-
 nesey & de Jerefy pur affirmer & assurer N. 7.
 l'Alliaunce avant dit. Perqoi nostre dit
 Seigneur a la Revenue du dit Ducs en En-
 gleterre entenduez les choses issint par-
 lez & accordez, fist apparailer une grant
 Armee des grosses Niefs, & des Gentz d
 Arms & des Archiers & Sadressea hors
 del Eawe de Thamise devers les Isles mes
 totes voies le vent se monstra contraire a
 lui, si qe a grant Peine il veient a Portes-
 muth & y demora grant piece tantqe cer-
 teins Novels viendrent qe le dit Roi de
 Navarre entre lesse la dite Alliaunce con-
 tre son promesse & ferment feust devenuz
 Fraunceys & adherant au dit Adversair
 nostre Seigneur le Roi. Qeles Nouvelles N. 8.
 oiez & entendues nostre dit Seigneur se
 retourna ove sa Navie & Gentz & per
 Cause qil ne poet aver la Pees, & qe la
 dite Alliaunce ne se poast tenir & auxint
 qe son dit Adversair se fist fort des Gentz
 d'armes & d'autres, sur les Marches de
 Caleys ; mesme nostre Seigneur pensant
 dy

de y avoir hastif Battaille, se ordina, ove
ses dites Navie & Gentz de passer la Meer
devers Caleys.

N. 9.

Après qen passage, per avys de son
Conseil, il ordeine, L'arraie des ses Gentz,
& de ses Alliez, ceux il y trouva come
de Monsieur Henry de Flaundres, Mon-
sieur Fraunke de Vanhale, & autrez Gentz
D'Almaigne en grant nombre, & se
Commencea de mesner hors de Caleys le
Jour de la feste des Almes, & fist son
progres en le Roiaulm devers les Lieux
ou par Espies & en autre manere il enten-
dit qe son dit Adversair estoit fil voleit
aver en la Battaille ovesqe lui mes
totes voies il feust, & de nuit & de
jour, nient attendant la Bataille; Et
nostre Seigneur le Roi lui pursuist de-
gastant ardent & bruillant le Pais per
tout tantqe per assent de son Conseil per
Causes qe ses Gentz furent molt lassez per
de faute de vyn, & ne beurent qe Eawe
bien per qatres jours se retourna devers
Caleys, & issint entendi davoir eue la
Bataille ovesqe lui, mes il ne y vient
point; Et a la Revenu nostre dit Seigneur
a Caleys, il fist payer ses Alliez qi y avoi-
ent demorez per long Temps bien &
Curtoisement, si qils agreront bien; Et
puiseft Revenu en Engleterre ore a son
Parlement.

Et

Et les ditez choses issint monstrez fust N. 10.
dit per Monsieur William de Sharefchul a
les Communes qils deussent aver regard
al grant Travail qe nostre dit Seigneur le
Roi avoit endure pur la defens & Salva-
tion de son Roialme & auxint a la bone
volonte qil ad de Travailler vers Escoce
contre ses Enemys qi ont pris la ville de
Berewyck de Guerre, dont Novels lui
son venuz tut Chaudez; & qe per tant ils
preudroient hastive Avys (pur estourcher
le Parlement, & lour demoere en ville,)
sur ceo qe lour sembloit qe ferroit affaire
mieutz, pur nostre dit Seigneur le Roi
pur faire fyn de la Guerre de Fraunce, qel
il desire Sovereignement qe soit fait en
haste, Et coment il purra mieutz estre
eide de la faire a meindre Grevance de son
People, & a greindre Profit de luy. Et
sur ceo les dona jour de Responce le ven-
dredy prechein suant & qe Endementiers
ils feissent lour Billes & Petitions si uulles
y avoient affaire de mettre en Parle-
ment.

Cc

Et

Rot. Parl.
36 Edw. 3.
N. 6.

ET puis le Meskerdy prechein ensuant fust monstres a les Grantz les Bufoignes de Escoce, et ce qe David de Brus et son Conseil profrerent au Roi a un Tretee qe ce fist a Everwick entre les Conseils le Roi et le dit David, pour Pees final avoir, et demandez des dits Grantz ce qe lour sembloit de cel profre, les ceux Grantz chescun demande pur lui donerent accordant Respons qils ne oseient ne voilent assentir ne Conseiller qe le Roi devoit lesser Chose si prejudiciele a sa Corone pur nulles profres qe lui furent offertz.

Rot. Parl.
40 Edw. 3.
N. 7.

ET ceste chose fait feust Commande as Grantz et Communes qils se departissent et qils y feussent lendemain, Cestassaver les Prelatz et Grantz en la Chaumbre Blaunche, et les Communes en la Chaumbre depincte au quel lendemain nostre Seigneur le Roi, les Prelatz, Ducs, Countes et Barouns en mesme la Chaumbre Blaunche esteantz, les Chevalers des Countees, Citeyns et Burgeys demurantz en la Chaumbre depeincte, fust monstre a eux per le Chancellor, coment ils avoient entenduz les Causes du Sommons de Parlement en general; Mes le volunte du Roi feust,

feust, qe les Causes feussent monstrez a eux en especial, lour disoit coment le Roi avoit entendu qe le Pape per force d'un fait qel il dit qe le Roi Johan fesoit au Pape de lui faire homage pur le Roiaulm d'Engleterre et la Terre D'irland, et qe per Cause du dit Homage qil lui deveroit pair chescun An perpetuellement Mill. Marcs est en volunte de faire Proces devers le Roi et son Roiaulm pur le dit Service, et ceux recoverer; dequoi le Roi pria as dits Prelatz, Ducs, Countes et Barouns lour avys et bon Conseil, et ce qil en ferroit, en Cas qe le Pape verroit proceder devers lui ou son dit Roiaulm per celle Cause; Et les dits Prelatz requeroient au Roi quils se purroient surce par eux soul aviser et repondre Lendemayn; Ceux Prelatz le dit Lendemayn ade primes per eux mesmes, et puis les autres Ducks, Countes, Barouns et Grantz respondirent et disoient qe le dit Roi Johan ne uul autre purra mettre lui ne son Roiaulme ne son Poeple en tiele subgection faunz assent et Accorde de eux; Et les communes surce demandez et avisez, responderent en mesme la manere; sur quoi feust ordine et assentu per commune Assent en manere qen suit.

N. 8.

En ce present Parliament tenu a Westminster Lundy prechein apres la Invention de la Sainte Croice l'An du Regne le Roi Edward Quarantisme, tant sur Lestat de Sainte Esglise come des droitz de son Roiaulme et de sa Corone maintenir entre autres choses estoient monstrez, Coment ad este parlee et dit que la Pape per force d'un fait quele il dit que le Roi Johan jady Roi d'Engleterre fesoit au Pape au perpetuitee de lui faire Homage pur le Roiaulme d'Engleterre et la Terre Dirland, et per Cause du dit Homage de lui rendre un Annual cens adeste en volunte de faire Proces devers le Roi pur les dits Services et Cens recoverir ; Laquele chose monstrez as Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Barouns et la Commune pur ent aver leur Avys et bon Conseil, et demande de eux ce que le Roi en ferra en Cas que le Pape vorroit proceder ou rien attempter devers lui ou son Roiaulme per celle cause queux Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Barouns et Communes, eu surce plein deliberation Respondirent et disoient d'un Accorde, que le dit Roi Johan ne nul autre purra mettre lui ne son Roiaulme, ne son People en tiele subjection sauntz Assent de eux, et come piert per plusours Evidences, que si ce feust fait, ceo feust fait

fait faunz leur Assent ot encontre son serement en sa Coronation ; Et autre ceoles Ducs, Countes, Barouns, Grantz et Communes accorderent et granterent, qe en Cas qe le Pape se efforceroit ou rien attempleroit per proces, ou en autre manere de fait de constreindre le Roi ou ses subgits, de prefaire ce qest dit qil voet clamer celle partie qils resisteront et contreesteront ove toute leur peussance.

A Qel lendemayn Lerceveqe de Canturbirs et tous les autres Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, et Barones, en mesme la Chaumbre esteantz le dit Ercevesqe monstra a eux coment sur le Claime et droit qe le Roi ad en la Terre Descoce plusours Tretees avoient este tenuz ove le Conseil nostre dit Seigneur le Roi et le Conseil David de Brus d Escoce et diverse et soviens Ofrez et demandes damb partz monstrez et parlez et ore au darrein Tretee per le Conseil le dit Davyd a Trenche respondu, qe sauue au dit Davyd et ses Heires Lentierte du Roiaulme Descoce et saunz nulle subjection au Roi D'engleterre ou ascune chose faire au Roi D'engleterre ou a ses Heires qe poait sover ou estre dit servage ou Charge perpetual, ils se accorderaint

Rot. Parl.
42 Edw. 3.
N. 7.

deraint sur tiel Point Treter de bone Pees
 si le Conseil le Roi D'engleterre le favera
 ou vorra monstrier; Qe le chose issint mon-
 stre estoit demande as Prelatz, Ducs,
 Countes, Barouns, et autres Grantz fils
 savoient trover ou monstrier aucune voie de
 Trete de Pees sauvant au Roi son droit et
 clayme et sauve au dit David et ses Heires
 les choses per lui sauvez, come dessus est
 dit; Qeux Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Ba-
 rouns, et Grantz chescun per soi sur ce
 examine accordaument respondirent, qe
 sauvez au dit David et ses Heires les Pointz
 susnommez, ils ne sauvoient veer ne mon-
 strez nulle voie de Tretee de Pees qe ce ne
 cherroit overtement en Desheretison du
 Roi de ses Heires et de sa Corone, et de
 eux auxint qe estoient jures a la Corone
 a quele chose, illz ne se assenteroient pur
 riens et issint departirent cel jour.

Rot. Parl.
 43 Edw. 3.
 N. 1.

Levesqe de Wyncestre Chancellor
 monstra les Causes du somons de Parle-
 ment en manere qensuyt. Sires, Le Roi
 en touz les grosses busoignes qe toucherent
 lui ou son Roiaulme de tout Temps ad fait
 & overi per le Conseil & ses
 Grantz & Communes de son Roiaulme,
 ceux il ad trove en toutes ses affaires bons
 &

& Loialx dont il les merci de grant cuer
 & volunte & nest pas disconuz a eux
 touz nostre
 dit Seigneur le Roi avant ces heures sur
 le Clayme & droit queux nostre dit Seigneur
 le Roi ad en le Roiaulme de Fraunce per
 lavys & Conseil de ses Grantz & Com-
 munes prist une Pees Ad-
 versair de Fraunce sur certaines Con-
 ditions, Cestassaver qe le dit Adversair
 ferroit Liverer au Roi certaines Terres
 Pais per dela la Meer & auxint lui paieroit
 certaines a
 certain Temps limite en mesme la Pees;
 & ovesqe ce son dit Averfair ferroit despor-
 ter de sa part de user resort en toutes les
 Terres & Pays de Gascoigne & tou-
 tes Terres
 & Pays qe le Roi tenoit & avoit per dela
 la Meer; & nostre Seigneur le Roi de sa
 part ferroit desporte de soi nomer Roi de
 Fraunce pur mesme le Temps, & co-
 ment qe
 le dit Adversair ad faille de tout de faire
 Liverree des dites Terres & Pays issint
 acorde per la Pees & de son Paiement
 auxint nient meyns le dit Adversair
 ad al del Counte Dermynack
 le Sire de la Brett & autres qe sont Gentz,
 Liges a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi en

Gascoigne, & per virtue de ceux Appealx
ad fait le Prince de
Gascoigne dapparer devant lui a Paris le
primer jour de May darrein Passe de res-
poudre a lour Appealx contre la Fourme
de la Pees & autre ad maunde grant nom-
bre de Gentz darmes & autres qi chiva-
cent de Guerre, en les Terres nostre dit
Seigneur le Roi de Gascoigne.

Ibidem,
N. 2.

Et illoques ont pris afforce Villes Chasteux
Fortresses & autres Lieux & les teignent, &
les Lieges Gentz nostee Seigneur le Roi
illoeqes pris ascuns tuez & les autres mys
en Prisone ou a grief raunceon; & plus
outre ore tard Manda un grant nombre
des Gentz en les demeynes Terres le Roi
de Pountieu qont pris afforce ses Villes
Chasteux & Fortresses; Et per Causes des
attemptats issint faitz per le dit Adversair
en la dite Principalte contre la Fourme de
la Pees, le Prince manda a nostre Seigneur
le Roi ses solempnes Messages de les mon-
strer a lui pleinement, Et outre les dits
Attemptats monstrent a nostre Seigneur
le Roi Coment le Prince avoit pris de-
vers lui les plus Sages de la dite Princi-
palte & Trete ovefque eux si per les Causes
des attemptats si overtement faits contre la
fourme de la Pees le Roi poait de droit &
reson

reson reprendre & user le Nom de Roi de Fraunce.

Quex disoient & affermerent qe le Roi le poait faire de droit & de bone foi; Et sur ce point Lercevesqe de Canterbirs & les autres Prelatz fuerent Chargez per le Roi de parler & treter & monstrier au Roi leur avys & Conseil, &c. Ibidem, N. 3.

Et le Meskerdy suant Lercevesqe & Prelatz eu fur la Charge qe leur feust done devant mature deliberation, dune Accorde respondirent & disoient, qe nostre dit Seigneur le Roi per les Causes fufdites poait reprendre & user le Nom du Roi de Fraunce de droit & bone Conscience, & a ce accorderent Les Ducs, Countes, Barouns, & autres Grantz & Communes en plein Parlement qe le Nom de Roi de Fraunce le Roi reprist. Et le XI jour de Juyn le grant Seal le Roy qel il usa a devant mis en garde, & un autre Seal emprente du Nom de Fraunce repris & fuerent Chartres Patentes & Briefs ensealez & touz les autres sealx en les autres Places le Roi, en mesme le manere Changez le dit jour. Ibidem, N. 8.

bone continuaunce de ci en avant; Et pere tant leur priaist mesme le Chancelier de per le Roi qils se ent aviserent diligeaument, &c.

Rot. Parl.
1 Rich. 2.
N. 34.

ITem fait a remembrer qe un petit Roule contenant XIII Articles faitz sur certains Covenances Taillez et perlez per entre nostre Seigneur le Roi et son tres chere frere Johan Duc de Bretaigne touchant les Chastelx et Seigneure de Brest en Bretaigne, estoit leu en Parlement devant les Seigneures, et les Seigneures facorderent bien a toutez choses y comprises excepte tant soulement qe y fust dit qe lon verroit aviser del XII. eme Article touchant les Alliances, &c. et qe bon fust qe celles Alliances feussent veues et examinees devant le Grand Conseil a bone deliberation, &c.

Rot. Parl.
6 Rich. 2.
N. 10.
pars prim.

ET ores est il einfi qe si homme regarde discrettement toutes partes, cest Roiaulm nestoit unques en greindre peril qore est dedinz le Roiaulme mesme come dehors si come aperessante chose est a touz qe reson ont, et discretion, en tant, qe si Dieux ny mette sa main de Grace, et les

les Inhabitantz se peinent pur leur defendre, ceste Roiaulme est sur le poinct de estre Conquis (que Dieux ne veullie) et mys en subjection de ses Ennemys, et partant la Langue et Nation Engleys estre outre-ment destruit, issint que maintenant autrement n'est mye que eslire un de Deux, de nous rendre ou nous defendre. Et d'autre part, combien que semble clerement que a le Terme deinz quel cel mescheif deust a venir, toutes voies encore Dieux nous ad-vert deux Nobles Chemins per queles de-raison et per sa Grace Homme eschaperatouz les dits Perils et avendra a grant Ho-nour: L'une Chemin est de ceux de Flan-dre quex se vorront ofrer a la Service no-stre Seigneur le Roi et a tout bone Alli-ance avoir ove luy et son Roiaulme, a ce qest dit, et celle Chemin si est moelt noble et large de grever les Ennemys, puis que grant Pitie ne furent si home eust dequoi detinir cel Chemin overt et meintener les dits Flamentz en contre leurs Ennemys et les nos, si l'Alliance se preigne, que Dieux grante; L'autre Chemin est en Portugal; qar de certain il na mye place en Monde si semblable de faire fin et venir a bone et brief purpos de les Guerres come cel place nest de present qar si Monsieur D'espaigne y voise ore ovesque un suffisant Poair et y veigne

Ibid.N.11

Ibid.N.12

Rot. Parl.
45 Edw. 3.
N. 1.

—— Levesque de Wyncestre Chancellor monstra a eux la Cause de Parlement come ensuyt. Sirez vous savez bien Coment au Darrein Parlement le Roi de vostre Assent reprit le Nom de Roi de Fraunce a Cause que son Adversair avoit enfreint la Pees autrefoitz afferme entre eux & usa le Resort qele, per la dite Pees, deveroit demurer et apertenir au Roi, et per celle Cause et autres ad fait Grantz Custages et mandez ascuns des Grantz et autres outre Meer a grant Nombre pur son droit avoir et conqere et ore le Roi ad certeines Nouvelles per ses Amys et Alliez que son dit Adversair se fait plus fort qil nad fait devant, et ad ordeine un si grant Nombre de Gentz que lui semble doit suffiire de hoster le Roi cest hors de sa Possession de toutes lis Terres et Pays ceux qil ad touz Partz dela la Meer si bien en Gascoigne come a Caleys Guynes Pountieu, et autres ses Chasteux et et lieux illoques et ovesqe ce ad prest tantz de Galeys, Flimes, Lynes et autres Niefs de Tour que lui semble doient suffiire a destruire toute la Navie D'engleterre, et auxint se afforce et bie denvoier un grant Poair des Gentz D'armes et autres en ceste Terre

Terre pur la destruire et conqere a son
poir ; Perqoi le Roi requiert et charge les
Grantz Et Communes cy assemblez qe ils
se voillent sur les Pointz susdits aviser et lui
Conseiller coment son Roiaulme poesse estre
sauvement garde et la Navie sauve et
Meintene contre la Malice des dits Ene-
mys et pur la sauve garde des Terres
le Roi per de la, et pur maintenir la
Guerre es dites Parties, et la Conqueste
dycelles.

— Et la tierce estoit dordeiner pur la
meintenance de la Guerre qe le Roi fait et
encores conveient de faire entour la Pro-
secution de sa qerele de Fraunce et aillours ;
Et coment et per qele manere ce purra
estre fait au meillour Profit Plus hastive
Exploit et greindre Honour du Roi et del
Roiaulm, affermant expressement qe no-
stre Seigneur le Roi ent ad tout dys fait
per leurs bons Conseilx Confortz et Eides
peront il ad bien Exploite, loiez y soit
Dieux tanqe en cea et tout dys bye de
faire eide les bons eides Conseilx et Con-
foetz qe les Prelatz Seigneurs et Commu-
nes avoient fait au Roi cea en ariere le
Roi leur merciaft entierement, et y se
loiaft grantement de eux leur requerent de
bone

Rot. Parl.
50 Edw. 3.
N. 2.

Rot. Parl.
50 Edw. 3.
N. 2.

veigne en salvetee a leide nostre Seigneur
et illoeqes ove les Seigneurs et poair qe y
font a devant veigne es Champes il ferra
Roi D'espaigne ou avera la Bataille deinz
un demy An prechein apres la venue illo
eqes ; Et si Dieux lui doigne Prosperitee
illoques le remanent de nos Guerrez tost
ferra mys au fyn ; Et par tant l'Esperance
daver bon et hastive fyn de noz Guerrez
per cell autre Chemyn, nous deveroit de
reson premier de mettre Travail, dille-
gences, et Coustages en tiel guise qe per
tant si Dieux plect en apres home fust mys
a repos et quiete pur tous Jours. Et sur
le Profre qe Monsieur le Duc ad fait da-
ver II Mil. Homes Darmes et II Mil. Ar-
chers, et Gages et Rewardes pur eux pur
demy An tant soulement qe les Gages et
Rewardes pur le dit demy An amontent
a XLIII Mill. Liveres, pur la qele some
il se profre de lier al Roi nostre Seigneur
et a son Roiaulme de faire Repaiement ou
en Monoie ou en Service al Election de
nostre dit Seigneur le Roi deinz trois Ans
precheins ensuantz apres le departir du
dit Duc hors du Roiaulme, si einfi soit qe
Dieux luy doigne la vie si longuement et
il soit Frank en le moien Temps de son
Corps hors de Prisone et qil viegne en sal-
vetee avec son Host a Terre doutre la
Meer ;

Meer ; semble pur voiez de chascun home se doit prendre ore moelt pris daider a cest foitz en rescuz del Roialme, et de lui mesme, Et pur tant en brief paroles nostre Seigneur le Roi vous prie entiere-ment et chescun vrai Liege et bien veulli-ant au Roialme deust avancer la Bufoigne per les Causes des suis dites en tiel manere que vous vous vorrez Cestaffaver bien adviser sur cest matiere et ent comuner profondement et diligement entre vous et chescun de sa part et especialement sur le Poinct coment en la plus aisee manere, a Ibid.N.13
meindre Grief et nuisance du Peuple len purra venir a la sorme de monoie dont home purra mettre les Deux purpos et via- ges de Espagne et Flandrez a bon fyn ou a meinz lun dycelle, cestaffaver celle Des-
paigne aiant nientmains reward convenable Ibid.M.bidi
vers Flandrez si laccorde si preigne et si einfi soit fait, et qe home y vorra ore mettre sa Paine nest pas a douter qe Dieux ne nous mettra en bon plit devant les deux Ans dessuifdits finiz. Et si doit home le plus aver bone volantee ore de bien faire qe unqs devant per Cause de les deux Croiseryes qe nostre seint Piere le Pape ad fait grantez et envoiez ore devers le Roial- me D'engleterre, lun a Monsieur Des-
paigne fait en especial encontre son Ad-
versaire

versarie Despaigne et lautre Croiserye general fait a l'Evesque de Norwiz en contre lanti-Pape & touz ses Adherdantz Complices Fauteurs et Maintenours en quel conques Parties il les purra trover, a ceux viages home avera un tiele remission et pardon en toutes choses come auroit en viage fait en la Terre seinte. Et purce Seignours et Sirez par Dieux tendrement vorrez vous adviser et penser del Salvation de cest Roialme et vous mesmes au fyn de l'en purra veoir que les doutes et lesperances devant dites quelles vous sont ore monstrez noun pas de Cause feinte einz de droite veritee que est conu a vous toutz vous purront exciter de bien faire, que Dieux grant pur ses Mercies.

Ibid.N.14

Item, Fait a renembrer, e qentendu per la dite Commune lour dite Charge, ils se departirent dilloques, vers leurs place en L'abbeye de Westminstre pur entre communer et treter puis avant de lour Charge avant dit. Mes devant qils ent firent reinz en effect pur tant que lour dite charge touchast moelt haute et chargeante matire a ce que lour sembloit, ils firent requere as Seignours de Parlement daver assignez a eux en especial certeius Prelatz et autres Seignours del Roialme dont les Noms

Noms sensuent pur Communer ovesqe eux de les Charges deffuis dits ; Cestassaver Levesqe de Wyncestre Levesqe de Norwiz & Levesqe de Excester Le Duc de Lancastre les Countes D'arundel de Stafford & de Salisbers Le Sieur de Nevil Monsieur Guy be Bryan Monsieur Richard Lescroop ; Et celle requeste lour estoit grantez.

Item les Seignours & Communes du Roialme D'engleterre assemblez en cest Parlement apperceivantz si bien per les Enchefons allegez en la Prononciation des Causes de la Somons de cest Parlement come autrement per diligence Examination cur ce fait, & en parte pur grante Experience l'outrageouse multitude des Enemys du Roi nostre Seignour & de son Roialme avante dite, chescun parte de mesme le Roialme, si bien per Terre come per Meer & lour grantz afforcementz de Guerre & crescent de jour en autre puis & puis & dautre parte les grantz Despences qe necessairment lon faut mettre sur le Defens & Salvation de mesme le Roialme en resistance de tantz des Enemys, ove leide nostre Seignour, mesmes les Seignours & les Communes de lour liberale voluntee combien qe se soit ore

moelt grievous charge pur eux apoter,
totes choses confiderez grantent a nostre
Seigneur le Roi si bien pur eux en cest
Parlement ores present, come pur tou-
te le Commonaltee D'engleterre une
Quinfzeime, &c.

Ibid.N.23

Item fur le profre qe a diverses foitz a
este fait es Parlement per Monsieur De-
spaigne Duc de Lancastre & ore per le
dit Duc rehercez en ce Parlement devant
les Prelatz & Seignours ; Cestafaver daler
en Espaigne ovesqe deux Milles Homes
Darmes & a tantz des Archers as Gaiges
le Roi nostre Seigneur pur demy An &
dubble Reward, dont la some totale oul-
tre lour Eskeppison amontereit bien entour
XLIII. Mill. Livres Desterling de la quele
some, ou en monoie ou en Service le dit
Duc vorroit faire repaiement deinz trois
Ans precheins apres son alee si einfi feust
qe Dieux lui donast si longement la vie,
& feust si longement a large de son Corps
hors de Prisone & arrivast a Salvete de lui
& de ses Gentz de per dela. Et en oultre sur
ceste profre demande & qestion fait as
Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, & Banne-
retz esteantz en ce Parlement si bien en
general come severalement cestaffaver si
lour stmblast celle viage ore affaire en
Espaigne

Espaigne per le dit Duc, avec Le Nombre des Gentz avant dits feust profitable pur nostre Seignour le Roi & son Roialme D'engleterre ou Nemmie? Mesmes les Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, & Bacheliers respondirent qe si plect a nostre Seignour le Roi lour semblaist tout a certain qe aiant regard al Socours & rescous des Nobles Seignours & autres Gentz Engleys qores sont en celles Marches come autrement, a ce qe home pense al Eide nostre Seignour de mettre celle Guerre a hastive & bonfyn, & per consequence le plus tost & le plus aisement les autres, qe celle viage Despaigne si feust profitable & honourable au Roi & a son Roialme avant dit per manere come le le dit profre purporte. Purveux toutes voies qe le dit Duc y voise assez fort dez Gentz & dautres apperaillementz de Guerre: Qar lour semble qe le Nombre des Gentz demande si est assez petit pur faire Guerre a si forte Roialme.

Rot. Parl.
6 R. 2.
P. 2a.
N. 3.

I Tem vous savez coment au derrein Parlement nostre dit Seignour le Roi avoit pris purpos daler ove leide de Dieux en sa Personne as Parties de France pur le recoverer de son droit Heritage ; Peront la Commune de son Roialme per foi lui ad grantez une XV. & la Clergie per foi une X. a Lever as Termes limites en defence du Roialme & Eide a nostre Seignour le Roi deffuisdit. Et doivez Entendre qe maintenant apres le dit Parlement finis, si viendrent tieles nouvelles de per de la qe furent moelt grantement despleasantes au Roi nostre Seignour deffuisdit, de ce qe la Adversaire de France ove son ost Roial avoit este armez en la Contee & Terre de Flandrez qi furent noz bien veullians & Amys & y avoit en Bataille darest & desconfit noz dits Amys & Conqis le Pays entier en sa main propre horspris la Ville de Gaunt qi se tient encores. Perqoi tantost le Roi nostre Seigneur, ceste nouvelle oiez fist Somoner un grant Conseil cy a Westminster, tost apres la Epiphanie darrein passez, en quel Conseil si estoit grant Partie de Seignours du Roi.

Roialme Esperituelx & Temporelx & grant Nombre des puis Suffisantz Batcheliers du Roialme a celle Novelle illoques decloree ove la bone volonteé qe la dite Ville de Gaunt porte tout dys en loyaltée a nostre dit Seignour le Roi & a son Roialme estoit finalement pur plusours Resons ladvys de Touz qe pur le Rescous de Gaunt & Recoverer du Pays de Flandrez qe nostre dit Seignour le Roi passaist en sa Persone ove son Host Roial si ce il poiaist faire son honoure Salvez ; Qar il feust dit & aperissant chose est qe chescune loial Liege home du Roi vorroit pluist tost & de pluist ardant desire travailler en la presence de son Seignour Liege qe ad le droit & verroi Title a la Corone de France qe ove nule autre Persone du Monde & as meindres Coustages Mes pertant qe la bufoigne estoit, & est si chargeant si bien touchant le governaill du Roialme en Absence du dit Nostre Seignour si y passaist, come autrement, sur son dit aler, qe home ne voloit ne nosast pur Perils aperissantz finalement assentir a lun ne a lautre sanz Parlement. Et pur ce le Roi nostre Seignour vous charge & prie moelt entiere-

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ment que vous veulliez diligement aviser, vous, les Seignours cestassaver per vous mesmes, & vous la Commune per vous mesmes de ceste matire & per especial si vous sembla que nostre Seignour le Roi devra & purra en sa persone passer come dit est ou Nemmie, Et si vous semblera que salvez son honour il ne purra passer, adonques vorrez vous adviser diligement quele Armee ou viage ferra & purra estre fait & per qi & en quel manere? eiant regard as Coustages affaires & al hast que le viage demande pur le rescous de Gaunt & auxint eiant regard a la quantitee de Monnoie grantez & vous advys ent prises les vorres en haste monstrier avant a nostre Seignour le Roi & a son Conseil. Qar nostre Seignour le Roi est prest & appereillez de faire & perfourmer en ce cas qanque vous lui vorrez Conseiller pur le Mieultz.

Ibid.N. 8.

Et fur ce qant la dite Commune fa-voient bien Advisez deux jours ou trois fur leur dit Charge ils prierent a nostre Seignour le Roi que pur tant que leur dit Charge a eux donnez touchast hau-

hautement & si pris lestat de leur Seigneur Liege leur pleust a eux granter certains Prelatz, Countes, & Barouns, de Roialme par eux a ce a nomiers par entre communer ove eux de leur dit Charge issint que par leur bon Conseil & entre Comunement ils purroient le plus tost venir a bone Conclusion & certain purpos de leur Charge avant dite Et firent illoeqs les dites Communes a ce Nomer Lercevesque de Canterbris, Les Evesques de Ely & de Hereford & les Countes de Cantebrigge, Stafford & Northumberland, Le Sieur de Nevil, le Sire Fitzwater, le Sire de Cobham. Et ceux mesmes, Prelatz, Countes, & Sieures par la Commune issint nomez, nostre Seigneur le Roi leur grantast par lentre communement avant dit. Combien que feust, est, & doit estre de droit en l'election de nostre dit Seigneur le Roi dassigner a ce les dits Prelatz & Seignours issint nomez ou autres a sa propre denomination.

Item, Qant mesme la Commune fa- Ibid. N. 9
voient longement deliberez, et entre
Communes ove les Prelatz et Seignours
dessuis dits de leur Charge avant dite, ils

vindrent en Parlement en Presence de nostre Seignour le Roi et des Seignours de Parlement et illoeqes Monsieur James de Pickering Chivaler qavoit les Paroles pur la Commune dist en feasant sa Protestation, qe si il deist riens per Ignorance ou autrement de per la Commune qe ne feust per eux devant accordez qe celle defaute purroit estre amendez par la Commune avant dite leqele il dist, fust de si bone voluntee envers lour Seignour Liege come nulle Commune mieulx purroit estre, et outre y dist qe combien qe ceste lour charge de la Passage nostre Seignour le Roi, ne l'Ordinance de son viage ou de nul autre grant viage Affaire, soleit, ne doit appertener a la Commune, eins au Roi mesmes et as Seignours du Roialme come lour semble, Toutes voies, depuis qe en especial ils ent sont Chargez deper le Roi nostre Seignour lour semble qe si ce purroit estre fait bonement & feust prest en maine, de quoi se purroit estre fait en la Personne du Roi qi ad la verroi droit a la Corone de France, ferroiet tiel viage mieutx emploiez qe en nule autre Person del Monde. Mes depuis qe ce ne purra estre perfourmez come ad este declarez per entre euz

eux pur moeltz des bones Resons, Lour Advys est qe aiant consideration a la quantitee de Monoie qest grantez a nostre Seignour le Roi pur la Defens du Roialme & as Grantz & Nobles Profres qe Levesqe de Norwiz fait a nostre Seignour le Roi pur servir Dieux & Seinte Esglise, en la Croiserie a lui grantee per nostre Seinte Piere le Pape Urban, & ovesqe ce, pur servir a nostre Seignour le Roi deffuistit en sa Guerre de Fraunce & rescous & confort de Gaunt, qe mesme le profre Serroit bonement & effectualement acceptez per le qiel profre, si ce soit perfourmiz semble qe moelt grant bien & profit ent doit avenir si bien a nostre Seignour le Roi, come a son Roialme avant dit.

Et oultre y dist le dit James qe entenduz le Troboil qe est encores toutes parties deinz le Roialme mesme & le Nouvelles qelles viegnent de jour en autre de la Marche Descoce & per especial comment precheinement si Accord ou plus longe Trieve ne soient faites per entre les Roialmes D'engletetre & Descoce a cest Fest de la Nativete Seinte Johan est a dou-

Ibid. N. 10

a douter grantment que la Guerre fera overte per entre les dits Roialmes que feroit le plus perilleuse & plus nufante Guerre que nous purrions aver et per tant que comune Fame est que les Escotz sont ore si fortz & orgoilouses qils nasfenteront ligierement a nulle Pees ne Trieve si ce ne soit bien damageuse et prejudiciel au Roi nostre Seigneur & a son Roialme s'ils ne soient a ce chases plus per doute & Fource de vous nostre Seigneur Lige & de vos honourez Uncles & autres Seignours du Roialme que en autre manere per beles Tretees & Parlances semble a la Commune avant dite que vous nostre Seignour Liege ne nul de vos trois Uncles de Lancastre de Cantebrigge et de Buckingham purra qant a present estre desportez hors de vostre Roialme ne ne purra per quelconque voie tanque vous nostre Seignour Lige aiez si Dieux plect mys vostre Roialme et la dite Marche en un manere ou en autre repose et quiete. Et ce est lavys de vostre Commune d'Engleterre sur lour dite Charge a eux donee per vostre Roial Magestee. Mes ils nel dient mye ce dit le dit Monsieur James per voie de Conseil ent donez a vous einz seulemen-

ment vous ent monstrent lour plein Avys sur lour dite charge. Aqoi feust dit de per le Roi illoeqes tantost qe home ne purroit ligierement mettre grante difference en celle Partie Cestassaver entre les dits Parolles Conseil & Avys.

Item, Qant le profre del dit Evsque Rot. Ibid.
N. 11. fait devant le Roi nostre Seignour & les Seignours de Roialme en Parlement sur le commencement dicelle Parlement feust tiele Cestassaver qe si nostre dit Seignour le Roi lu voufist granter les XV. & disme entiers ores derrein grantez a nostre Seignour le Roi per les Liges Gentz et per le Clergie & ovesqe ce les VI d. au Lib. & II s. au Tonell de Vin nadgaires grantez pur la salve Garde de la Meer, il se ferra fort daver el Roiaime de France precheinement en Temps et seison convenables III M. Homes darmes & III M. Archers bien montez & arraiez dont d'homes, d'armes, & d'Archers, ferontu la Meer prests pur passer en rescous & confort de Gaunt deinz le XX jours prechein apres qil ferra paiez de la primer Paiment. Et ovesqe ce il paiera les Coustages de Leskippeson de son dit ost & ent sustendera

dera tous autres charges necessaires if-
sint qe le Roi nostre Seigneur ne fer-
ra chargez de puis paier al dit Evesqe qe
deffuis nest dit forsqe de lui Ottroier Com-
missions & Lettres necessaires & qe les
Officers du Roi soient Attendantz au
dit Evesqe en cell Partie. Et sanz ce
encores le dit Evesqe, sil purra aver
lattendance de West Admiral trovera sur
la Meer purla salve Garde dicell per
entre cy & le Seinte Michel prechein
venant, X. grosses Niefs & X. bones Bar-
ges armez en les queux sanz les Mariners
necessaires ill trovera au meins D Com-
battants pur le dit Terme.

Caché

Item,

I Tem la Comune prièrent a nostre Seig-
neur le Roi qil voulist doner ascout
& Audience al Seignour del Spurra qi
novellment festoit venuz del Roialme Des-
paigne leqel Seigneur dit & il se face
fort al Eide nostre Seignour qe si vous
nostre Lige vorrez a ce encliner de vo-
stre Grace qil vous monstreara diverses
bones & honourable voies pur lesqueles
vous purrez bien & honourablement ve-
nir a la Pees la qele Pees si vous nostre
Seignour Lige purrez aver vostre honour
salvez per Dieux le vorrez rescever &
prendre per grant Profit de vous & de
tout vostre Roialme & qiete de vos sub-
gitz. A qoi fust Responduz de per le
Roi de son Commandement qe le Roi
sadviferoit ovesqe les Seignours de son
Roialme, & sur ce per lour Azys ent
ferroit ce qe lui sembleroit affaire en le
Cas, son honour salvez.

Rot. Ibid.
N. 22.

—Seignours & Sires la principale &
primere Cause purqoi nostre dit Seignour
le Roi ad fait somondre son present Par-
lement qe touche le Roialme Descoce cy
est expresse & oontenue en les Briefs
a vous

Rot. Parl.
7 Rich. 2.
pars prim.
N. 2.

* N. 3.

a vous faites de mesme la somonce laquelle est tiele * Nostre Seignour le Roi apercevant coment les Grantz Trieves jadis Prisez per entre les Roialmes D'engleterre & D'escocce si dovient per la Forme dycelles fyner & failler a cest prechein Feste de la Purification nostre dame prechein venant & purtant qe home ny feust disgarnez en celle partie al dit fyn des Trieves pleust a nostre dit Seignour le Roi denvoier a la marche Descocce lui puissant & noble Seignour son treschier Uncle Despaigne Duc de Lancastre ez present ovesqe autres Seignours & Sages de Conseil le Roi pur assaier & taster si lon purroit honourablement avoir la Paix ovesqe les Escotes ou autrement Prorogation dicelles Trieves pur un Temps notable, & si feurent ils en dite Marche Descocce & ent avoient Parlande & Tretee oves mesme les Escotes & finalement ent on reportez a nostre dit Seignour le Roi Relation & Lettres del Adversary Descocce contenant q'il envoieireit suffisantes Personnes de son Roialme ove Poier & Auctoritee suffisant de per lui a Londres pur y Treter de mesme la matire. Et celle Report fait a nostre dit Seignour le Roi, purce qe voirs est qe plusours de

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vous estes enheritez des plusours Terres & Seignories deinz le Roialme D'engleterre appartenantz a les Escotes dancientee & auxint aient en chalenge plusours Terres & Tenements deinz les Roialmes Descoce dont les Escotz sont auxint de present enheritez & si Paix se ferroit per entre les Roialmes avendront ensi per Cas qe plusours Translations des droitz a ycelles Terres & Seignouries dambez Partz ferroient faits ou yer Cas mesmes les Droitz ferroient surrenduz de cea & dela & purcelle Cause & autres Matires plusours incidentes qe ne veignent ore a Memoire Mes per especial pur tant qe le Roialme Descoce si est tielment annexee dancientes a la Corone D'engleterre, lui qiel Temps Bruit premier Inhabitour dicelles Roialmes le Roialme Descoce avant dit & le Roi dicelle pur le Temps esteant aient este continuellement subjugatz & attendantz au Roi & al Roialme D'engleterre ou en possession ou en Chalenge, sembloit de veritee qe home ne poait sur tielle haute & chargeante matire fralement Treter ou accorder aillours qe en Parlement, ou si Paix ou Trieves ne se y purroient prendre encores le Remedie pur defendre faut estre purveu en Parlement, & ensi si nule autre

Ibid.N. 4.

tre matire eussez davoier Parlement, si est ce qe jai dit une grant Cause. Une autre Cause y ad purquoi le Roi Seignour ad fait somondre cest son Parlement est tielle si einfi avenist qe Paix ou Trieves ne se preignent point en Escoce, adonques la plus perilleuse Guerre qe nous purrions avoir, si est tantost ovter dont est moult grandement a doutre per tout faire per Temps bon Purvoyance encontre lour grant Orgoill, Fauxine & Force, aiant consideration coment ills purront chescun jour entrer Nostre Roialme a terre seck sans impediment de la Meer ou de eave fresh, mes encores non pas seulement de faire Purveyance encontre les dits Escotes einz dautres Pattz envers trois des plus grandes Roialmes & Pays de Christianitee, Cest a dire France Espagne & ore de Nouvelle accreue le Pais de Flandrez ove toutz lour Adherentz & Alliez qe sont come innumerables mortelx Enemys a ceste petit Roialme D'engleterre qe Dieux salve toutz Partz environnez par Terre & per Meer envers ceux si Dieux de sa Grace ny mette remedy, & homc de sa part ne face ceo qe en lui est de Purveyance en resistance de lour Malice vray semblable

semblable est que le greindre Mescheif est hastivement a avenir, que dieux ne veulle, a cest petit Roialme que unques mes ny a-venist. Et pur ceo que Mescheif semble per les dites causes fidure et si proscheine si est droit que home se haste le plus tost pur ordeiner de bone & effectuel remedie qest principalement apres la Grace de Dieux davoit de qoy home purra venir a les dispenfes que len y faut mettre que coment a fyn force venir de la Commune, Qar commune defens demande commune Charge, voir est & certain que trois de plus Riches Rois Chrestiens ne purroient endurer les Charges de tantes & tieles Guerres sans l'eide de leur Commune. Et pur tant len faut ordiner Comment defendre & de qoy lui avera Despenfes necessaires, & qant a defens faire & celle partie, Salvez meillour advys, il doit apparoir a chescun sage que nostre defens si est d'assailler les Enemys per dehors nostre Roialme; Qar tielle Assaut si semble, estre resonable profitable et honourable. Primerement si est nostre Assaut resonable per encheson que nous somes Actours, Demandours & Challengours ou Appellours & Reson voet que le demandant et Challengour assaille le Defendour & noun pas *e converso* seconde-

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ment nostre Assaut est profitable, Quar si nous attendismes lour Assaut deinz nostre Roialme l'assemblee & Chivanche de nostre Ost envers lour Ost feroit a nostre Roialme l'un & l'autre Ost esteant en ycell a tant de damage come feroit Lost des Enemys horspris prise de Prisoner & Arsure des villes & Mesons si come vous Messeignours & Sires avez mesmes veu estre fait es Parties de per de la & mieltz est & plus profitable que nostre Host soit sustenuz per les vittailles & biens des Enemys que de nos biens propres. Tiercement il est plus Honorable d'assailler que defendre Qar coment les Cowards n'assailent mye & pur eschuir les mescheifs de lour Assaut d'un part a la villenie que nous aurions si nous qi fumes Demandours & Chalengours come dit est pur defaute del poursuite de nostre Droit que nous avons Commencez devant ore feussions appelez maintenant ou tenuz d'autres nous veissins que Dieux ne veulle pur Cowards si avant come nous purrons eschuir l'occation purquoi tiel noun emporterions Qar il nous faut faire un des deux choses, ou de poursuivre nostre droit per forte Main & Assaut ou de lesser houteusement. Et Seignours & Sires toutes voies vous ne durez mye
aretter

arettier sur la Personne du Roi nostre
Seignour que cestes importables Char-
ges de les Guerres avant ditz soient per
lui introduitz, ou per singuleritee de
lui commencez einz furent commencez
devant son Temps come bien sachez &
auxint avant come la honorable Co-
rone D'engleterre lui est descenduz per
suceffion de droit heritage auxint avant
lui sont eschuiz ovesqe l'honneur &
profit de la Corone les Chargeantes
Guerres & qereles dycelles devant son
Tempscommencez come dit est.

I Tem sur la Trettee de la Paix *Rot. Parl.*
que longement ad durez & *7. Ricb.*
continuez per entre de nostre dit Seig- *2di. pars*
nour le Roi & son Adversaire de France *2. N. 3.*
les Messages dambes Parts en dit Trettee
se sont ore assentuz sur certain Forme de
Paix final prendre per entre les Roial-
mes sur ladvys des Rois & de leur Con-
seilx dambes Parts, dont y a certains
Articles faitz, prestz de vous monstrier
en Temps & lieu convenable & purtant
que nostre Seignour le Roi vous ent voet
monstrier Naturelle & perfite Amour &
Ee 2 consi-

considerant vos greivouſes Charges que-
les vous avez longement ſuſtenuz parmy
celle Guerre, ſi ne voet mye noſtre Seig-
neur le Roi finalement accorder en la Cas
faunz voſtre Aſſent & Science combien
qil le purroit bien faire come choſe quele
(a ce que home penſe) nappertient mye
en ryenz au droit nie a la Corone D'en-
gleterre dancientee. Et le Roi vous
prie & charge moelt entierement que les
dits Articles veuez & entenduz ove la
manere dicelle Tretee, ent lui veuillez
doner voſtre Conſeil tiel come vous
ſemblera que mieltz ſoit Affaire pur ſon
Honour & Profit a lui & ſon dit Roialme.

Ibid N. 16. *Item* la dite Commune touchant la
Charge a eux donez en ce Parlement de
la Paix que ce ferra ſi Dieux pleuſt per
entre noſtre Seignour le Roi & ſon Ad-
verſaire de France de qoi certains Ar-
ticles ent faites & appointez novelement
au Tretee de meſme la Paix qad eſte en
la Marche de Caleys per entre les Am-
baſſadours dambes Parties eſtoient live-
rez a meſme la Commune pur leur me-
illour Information del Tretee avant dit
& del Effect dicelle, meſme la Com-
mune ont fait leur Reſponſe a noſtre
Seignour le Roi en Parlement per le
manere

manere qe fensuit, En disant qe pur les outrageoufes perils qils y veiont clere-ment chescun part, ils ne poent ne ne of- sent per aucun manere ent Conseiller leur Seignour Lige expressement ne a l'une ne a lautre Combien qe la dite Paix si pleust a Dieux del ottroier tielle qe feust honourable & profitable a leur dit Seignour Lige & son Roialme, si leur ferroit la plus noble & gratiouse Eyde & Comfort qe home purroit en Monde deviser, & leur semble qe nostre dit Seignour la Roi poet & doit faire en celle partie si come a sa noble Seignourie mieltz semblera affaire, come de chose qest son propre Heritage qest per droit Lignage Roiale descenduz a sa noble Personne & non pas appartenant al Roialme ne a la Corone D'engleterre Em- priantz humblement a mesme leur Seignour qe pur Dieux il ent veulle faire come per ladvys de son Conseil mieltx lui ent semblera affair al Honour & profit de luy & comfort & Aide deson Roialme avant dite. Et qe pur les Perils & Mescheifs importables qe purroient avenir qe Dieux defende la Poevre Com- mune feusse dechargez de doner autre Response, en ce Cas quant au present. Et sur ce la Commune chargee de per *ibid*N.17.

le Roi a dire illoques leur voluntee de deux choses Cest assaver, ou ils desirent la Paix, ou la Guerre ovesque leurs Enemys Franceys qar y nad autre moyene voie a Cause qe as Trieves qe ferroient bones au profetables au Roi & son Roialme ne veullient les Franceys ore assentir. Et sur ce la dite Commune Respondist & dist moelt grantement desiront ils qe bone Paix & honorable au Roi nostre Seignour & son Roialme si feust faite qe Dieux grante. Mais per les Articles a eux ent liverez des queux pur plusours Termes de Ley civil y comprises ils nont mye cler entendement & auxint par la relation a eux ent fait dautre part ils entendent qe aucunes Seignouries & Terres qe mesme leur Seignour Lige auroit ore per cest Accorde en Guyenne si seroyent tenuz del Roi Franceys per Homage & Service. Mais ne pensont mye que leur dite Seignour Lige vorroit assentir trop ligierement de tenir dyceux Franceys per tiele Service la ville de Caley & autres Terres conquises des Franceys per lespee.

Ibid N. 18. Ne ne vorroit la Commune qe ensi feust fait si autrement len y purroit bien faire ou eschaper Sanz damage. A qoi feust dit a la Commune qe autrement qe de les

les tenir del Roi Franceys home n'endra mye ovesqe eux a la Paix pur rienz qe home ad peu appercevoir en dite Trettee devant cest heure ; Et sur ce la Commune autre soit requis de dire a leur Seignour Lige coment ils vorroient ore faire quant a la prise de ceste Paix si ensi feust qe la dite Commune feusse Roi del Roialme, ou en estat qe leur Roi est, confiderez la multitude des Guerres chescun part overts touz a un foitz encontre cest petit Roialme & coment les Enemys si sont Confedrez tres touz ensemble qe nul prendra Trieves ne Paix ligierement sans autre & le grant force & Richesce des Enemys & Feblesce & Povertee de nostre Roialme. A quoi la Commune respondist & dist qils ont entenduz qe les Prelatz & Seignours Temporelxs ont auxint este chargez devant ceste heure en semblable manere Cestassaver de doner leur conseil & Advys a nostre Seignour le Roi en le Cas & Mesmes les Prelatz & Seignours avant dits ont fait leur Responce, n'oun pas come pur leur Conseil ou advys donez en celle partie, ne a la Paix cestassaver, ne a la Guerre, einz soulement come leur est fait a entendre, mesmes les Prelatz & Seignours ont dit qe toutes choses & mischeifs apparantz Confiderez, s'ils seussent

en lestat du Roi ils faccorderoient a la Paix plus tost que a la Guerre & issint la dite Commune per Protestation qils ne soient desore Chargez come conseillers en le Cas ne per tant ent portent charge de conseiller a l'une ne a l'autre, ils faccordent en leur Responce sur ceste leur Charge en toutes Choses as Prelatz & Seignours avant dits, & tiele Responce & nul autre que les dits Prelatz & Seignours ent ont donez ils donent ore a leur Seignour Lige sur leur Charge dessus dite.

Rot. Parl.
14. Rich.
2. N. I.

— **L**'Honourable Pier en Dieux Levesqe de Worcestre Chancellor D'engleterre par Commandement du Roi esteant present en Parlement &c. — Et puis disoit per substance de la Matire coment les Trieus furent prises per entre le Roi et son Adversaire de Fraunce pur un certain Temps come overtement fust declarez al darrein Parlement Et coment Levesqe de Duresme, le Count de Northampton & autres avoient eite ore tarde en Message du Roi a Caley sur Tretee des Pees

Pees & avoient fait Relation au Roi de leur dit Message, & coment y faut que le Roi envoie plus solempnes Messages illoeqes entour la Chandelour prechein pour Treter de pees final si Dieux pleust, qele chose il ne voet purfaire sans Avys & Assent des Seignours Esperituelx & Temporelx & autres Sages de son Conseil Et coment auxint Levesque de Seint David Tresorer D'engleterre le Count Marefcal & autres avoient este en Message du Roi en la Marche Descoce pur Treter ovefque les Escots de les Trieus pur enprises per les Franceys & que les dits Escots ne soy voyellent encore accorder a mesmes le Trieus, issint qil semble mieultx que le Roi aura illoeqe Guerre que Pees, laquelle Guerre le Roi ne voet mye faire ne prendre sanz ladvys & Assent desuisdits & que il faut que Mesmes les Messages ou autres soient envoiez illoeqes entour la dite Chandelour de Treter derecheif ove mesmes les Escots. Et puis rehercea les grandes Charges & Coustages Affaires de fyn force si bien sur la sauve Garde de la dite Marche Descoce & de la Terre Dirland come de Caleys, Brest, Cherburg & Guyen & auxint de les dites Tretees & coment y fout auxint ordeiner per
Temps

Temps pur la Guerre en Cas que Pees final ou plus longues Trieus ne foyent prises & que le Roi ne fuffist mye a porter ny faire toutz les Charges & Costages bufoygnables & necessair cel partie sans Eide de sa Terre & par tant il voet estre Confillez en cest Parlement coment les dites Charges & Costages purront mieultz estre portez et faitz au Meindre Damage & desease de son People &c.

*Rot. Parl.
15 Rich. 2.
N. 15.*

FAit a remembrer que les Communes disoient en plein Parlement que si Trettee de Pees ou Trewe se devera prendre per entre nostre Seignour le Roi & son Adversaire de France qil semble a eux expedient & necessaire fil pleroit au Roi que Monsieur de Guyen a Cause qil est le plus sufficeant Persone de Roialme irroit al dite Tretee. Et le Roi dist qil le vorroit bien fil plust a mon dit Seignour de Guyen. Et surceo Monsieur de Guyen disoit qil vorroit de tres bon Coertravailler & faire chose que purra tourner al honour & profit du Roi & de Roialme.

Fait

FAit a remembrer que le Roi, Seignours Vaillantz Chivalers & Justices assenterent en cest present Parlement a les Pees, per ensi qe nostre dit Seignour le Roi ne face homage Lige & sauvant auxint tout dis la Libertee de la Persone nostre Seignour le Roi & de son Roialme D'engleterre & de ses Liges du dit Roialme & qe nostre Seignour le Roi & ses heires purront resorter & avoir Regresse al noun Title & droit de la Corone & Roialme de France si la Pees soit enfrente per la Partie de son Adversaire ou de ses Heires & ensement qe tielx moderations & modifications soient faitz qe nulle Confiscation purra vraisemblablement avenir.

Rot. Parl.
17. Rich. 2.
N. 16.

Et les Communes chargez de per nostre dit Seignour le Roi en plein Parlement de lui dire & doner leur Conseil & Avis sur ceste Matire, Baillerent avant en plein Parlement per les Mains Monsieur Johan Buffy leur Comun Parleur une Cedula de leur Comun Assent
du

Ibid. N.
17.

du dit Matire en les Paroles qensuent ;
Les Communes chargez de per nostre
Seignour le Roi sur leur Foy & Lige-
ance de lui Conseiller a son Parlement
tenuz a Westminstre a la Quinsime de
seint Hiller L'an de Reigne nostre dit
Seignour le Roi, dys et Septisme sur
les Articles comprises en une Enden-
ture fait per entre nostre dit Seig-
nour le Roi, & son Adversaire de
France, les ceux lieuz & en Partie en-
tenduz sont Confiderez per toute la
Commune trois Pointz si chargeantz
cestassaver Homage Lige, Soverainte,
& Refort dont les dits Communes unques
ne oseront entreprendre de Conseiller ne
Treter de si haute & chargeante Matire,
des ceux trois Pointz les dits Communes
sont outrement deschargez, a Cause qe
nully Moderation dicelles est unqore
fait ne les Seignours ont nul Conuissance
qele Moderation y ferra dont Nostre
dit Seignour le Roi eiant avys si bien
per les Seignours Espirituelx & Tempo-
relx Chivalers Justices & autres Nobles
ent duement examinez en cest present
Parlement, Considerantz lestat de son
Roialme sont Condiscenduz qe Homage
ferra fait, per bone Moderation affaire
pur les Terres en Guyen, toutz foitz
reservez

reservez que nostre dit Seigneur le Roi sa
Corone son Roialme & ses Liges
Dengleterre biens & Chateux ne soient
Chargez ne abandonnez per aucune ma-
nere que conqe a Cause des dits Homage
sovereintee Resort, Service ou tite fait
ou affaire per aucune voi, mes que le Roi
& ses Heires son Roialme, & ses Liges
& leur Biens & Chateux soient auxi
franks come ils ont este en Temps dascun
de ses Nobles Progenitours & sont auxi
purveux & assentuz per nostre dit Seig-
nour le Roi les Seignours & autres avant
ditz qen Cas que la Pees & les Contractz
faits ou affaire per entre nostre dit Seig-
nour le Roi & son Adversaire de France
soient enfreintz per la Partie du dit Ad-
versaire ou ses Heires per Afcune ma-
nere queconqe qadonques nostre dit Seig-
nour le Roi & ses Heires resorteront a
leur primer Estat droit & Tite nient
contrestant les Contractz reles ou Ser-
vices ent faitz ou affaire. Et depuis que
nostre tres redoute Seignour le Roi les
Seignours & autres avant ditz confide-
rantz si tendrement lestat du dit Roialme
& son People voillant & considerant que
les Contracts de Pees avant specifiez
soient pur le mieux, les Communes a-
vant dits touz jours come obeisantz &
suantz

suantz si bien la volunte du Roi come de toutz les Seignours Espirituelx & Temporelx Chivalers de Honour & Justices ent duement examinez come devant, eiantz Consideration a la Consentement de nostre dit Seignour le Roi les Seignours Espirituelx & Temporelx Chivalers Justices & autres avant dits consentent pur bone Pees avoir a les Contracts de Pees avant especifiez a la bone Avys nostre dit Seignour le Roi les Seignours & autres avant dits ent fait en cest present Parlement.

*Rot. Parl.
20. Rich.
2. N. 9.*

IT E M le Jeody ensuant vindrent les Communes devant le Roi & les Seignours en Parlement & monstre rent au Roi Coment Lercevesqe de Cantorbirs & les Countes de Rotell & Marefcal leur firent relation qe le Roi avoit entenduz qe furent ascuns qe se purposerent davoir restreintz le Viage des dits Countes promis a son honorable Piere de France vers les Parties de Lumbar-die & deussent avoir excitez & procu-rez les Communes davoir fait Reqeeste a Roi nostre Seignour pur avoir destur-be

be le dit Viage & enfreint la Promisse
ent per luy fait a son dit Piere de
France, mesmes les Communes sex-
cuserent qe eux ne ul de eux unques ne
feurent en Purpos nentent ne parlez
feust entre eux ne nuls autres les enfour-
merent de faire Reqeeste nexcitation a no-
stre Seignour le Roi de la contraire del
honourable Promisse fuisdit euz qils lui
mercierent molt entirement de son ho-
nourable Port qil avoit fait, pur honour
de luy & de son Roialme si bien en celle
matire come en autres ove son dit Piere
en son darrein Viage en France come
notoirement est conuz a grant Partie de
Christiante & combien qe les dits Seig-
nours en leur Relation monstrent as
dites Communes le gratus entent no-
stre Seignour le Roi qe per celle Viage
les Communes ne le Roialme ne ferroi-
ent mye liez ne chargez, nient moins
les dits Communes prieront & firent
leur Protestation qe coment qe le Roi de
sa autorite & volonte de mesme avoit
grantez tiell Viage, qe de celle Viage
ne de nulle chose qe ent purroit avenir
en apres ils ne feroient mys Parties nent
endammages mais outrement excusez.
A qoy le Roi respondi mesmes per son
Bouche propre en plein Parlement, &
dist

dist as Communes qils ne deussent es-
 mervaiiler de la dite promesse & leur
 exposa benignement certeynes Causes
 qe lui moerent a la promesse de la dit
 Viage. Primerment le Roi confiderant
 coment devant ces heures ont este tres
 grandes Mischiefs, & destructions de
 Guerre intollerables entre les deux Roi-
 almes D'engleterre & de France, & pen-
 fant sur ce qe le greindre bien fait qe as-
 cun home purra faire a autre pur luy
 obliger & estre plus tenuz a lui, si en
 est pur lui eider & relever en son Mis-
 chief & necessity, purqoy al bone en-
 tention pur peiser & cesser les Guerres du
 Roialme, & sauver les Mescheifs qe vin-
 drent per la Guerre a son Roialme & a
 son Poeple et auxint a fyn qe tiel grant
 bien fait et promesse durront de reson
 moult occasion de Pees quiete et Salva-
 tion a son Roialme et ses Liges d' En-
 gleterre et pur exiter son dit Piere de
 France a la greindre Affection de luy et
 son Roialme et ses Gentz en temps ave-
 nir il fist la dite Promisse. La second
 Cause est pur ce qe son dit Piere est Co-
 fin a nostre Seignour le Roi et ore son
 Piere per ceste Alliance, il est le plus
 tenuz de lui faire plesance et relevement
 en sa Necessite. La tierce Cause est per
 tant

tant qe son dit Piere de France et lui mesmes, qi son tenuz deux des plus sufficientz et vaillantz Princes Christiens et per tant fils puissent avoir Conuzance de quelconqe Roi Prince ou autre Personne qil soit qi per Tyranye vorra surmontier et destruire le Peuple Christien en quelconques Parties ils sont de droit tenuz a la Reverence de Dieux a destruire tiel Tirant et Destrouer et de restorer et recoverer tielx oppressez et desolatz a lour Estat. Et dist outre nostre Siegnour le Roi qil voet estre a large et Liberte de Commander ses Gentz pur eux envoyer en Eide de ses Amys et pur disposer de ses biens propres a sa voluntee ou et a tant des foitz qe luy plerra, &c.

LE dit Ercevesqe avoit monstre qe cest honorable Roialme de Engleterre qest le plus habundant Angle de Riches permy tout le monde avoit este per longetemps mesnez reulez et gouvernez per Enfantz et Conseil des Jeunes peront mesme le Roialme feust en Point de Perdition et davoir este mis a tresgrande Desolation et mescheif

Rot. Parl.
1. Hen. IV.
N. 2.

tres douloureusement sil ne feusse qe Dieu tout puissant de sa tresgrande Grace et Mercie avoit mis un Home sachant et discret pur Governance de mesme le Roialme, leqel per l'Eide de Dieux voet estre governez et conseiliez per les sages et Antients de son Roialme pur Eide et confort de luy mesmes et de tout son Roialme, &c.

Ibid N. 80. *Item* Lundy le dixme Jour de Novembre le Counte de Northumberland Conestable D'engleterre per Commandement du Roi monstra astouts les Seignours Temporelx qe come ill Lour ad este monstrez devant ces heures coment le Roi se purposa de Guerrier ses Enemys Descocce, Et purtant qil feust parlez per ascuns qe cel purpos ce deust prendre per conseil et Exitation du dit Counte et de Counte de Westmorland Marechal D'engleterre, dont mesmes les Countes excuserent et prierent au Roi qe lui pleise monstrez sa volunte en especial touchant cest matire; Et sur ceo mesme nostre Seignour le Roi de son bouche propre dist en plein Parlement Coment Dieu de sa Grace luy ad envoyez en ceste Roialme et luy ad mys en lestat qil est au present pur la Salvation dicelle, et purtant il est pur-

purposes de tenir cel Viage autrement en sa propre Persone, Et sur ceo il Com-manda au dit Counte de Northumber-land de faire la Question de cest Purpos des toutz les Seignours pur ent Savoir leur Advys.

Les queux ent Severalment examinez se consentirent a cel Purpos qe le Roi de-ust tenir le dit Viage en noun de Dieux considerant la grand Malice et Rebelli-on de les Escotes sans deserte de sa Par-tie ou Offence. Et sur ceo le Roi mes-mes molt graceusement esmerciant les dits Seignours de son bouche prope leur dist qe pur dispendre son Corps et son sank en cel Viage ou en ascune autre pur la Salvation de son Roialme Jamais il nes pernera si Dieux lui doigne la vie.

I*Tem* mesme le jour les dits Communes monstrent a nostre dit Seignour le Roi, coment a bone Governance de chef-cun Roialme Trois choses feurent neces-sairement requis Cest assavoir seen huma-nite, et Richesse, desqueux vertues tou-tes ensemhles Dieux de sa tres puissante

Rot. Parl.

2. Hen.

4. N. 12.

Grace avoit endowez mesme nostre Seignours le Roi en double manere. Primerement qant a seen Dieux lavoit purveux en la Persone du Roi, come il est bien monstrez per experience de fait et auxi del seen qest en les honourables Persones des Seignours Espirituelx et Temporelx de son Roialme come notairement est conuz. Secondement qant a Humanite, coment il ne fust pas disconuz as toutz les Estats de son Roialme et as plusours autres Roialmes de la Humanite qe Dieux ad mys en sa Persone Roiale, et coment qe mesmes les Communes sauroient pluis dire ou parler en cest matire ungore ils se vorroient de purpos abstenir a cause pe ils dirroient ceo qils sceussent dire celle partie ils feroient tenuz pur Flatterers et Glofers, et auxint coment Dieu de sa Grace ad mys Humanite en les Seignours Temporelx, et en la Chivalrie et les Gentilx de son Roialme dont les uns ont este mys en Essaie devant ces heures diversment et les uns sont Persones Ables et de grand Courage et volunte ils feussent mys en oeuvre ou assaie. Tiercement qant a Richesse, coment il est overtement conuz de les entiers Coers qeux Nostre Seignour le Roi avoit de son People devant son darrein venue en Engleterre

gleterre et en son venue et puis son venue.
Et outre ceo les dits Communes monstre-
rent a mesme nostre Seignour le Roi que
la plus greindre Tresor et Richeſſe du
monde est a Chescun Roi d'avoir le Co-
er de son People, Qar per consequence
sil ait le Coer il est verraisemblable qil
avera ceo que lui buſoigne de lour biens.
Et per tant toutes cestres trois choses ce-
ſtaſſavoir, ſeen Humanite, et Richeſſe ſont
entirement comprises en l'honorable Per-
ſone nostre dit Seignour le Roi come deſ-
ſuis est dit. Et puis apres les dits Com-
munes monſtrèrent a nostre Seignour le
Roi que come ils avoient entenduz que cer-
teins Seignours, et autres dignes et luffi-
cientz Perſones de ceſt Roialme feurent
Challengez per les Franceis per ſubtile
ymagination de meſmes les Franceys a
quel entent home ne ſceit, que lui pleſe Con-
ſiderer, coment il est plus ſemblable que
les Franceys ſe purpoſent d'avoir les Guer-
res que la Paix et en Cas que les guerres ſe
prendroient, qil pleuſt au Roi de conſi-
derer en eſpeciale que les Perſones de ſeen
humanite et Richeſſe, ceux ſont qenſi au
preſent ſont Challengez et que le ſervice ils
purroient faire a meſme nostre Seigneur
le Roi celle Partie ſi le cas adveigne Et
auxi confiderez les grandes Couſtages

des dits Challengez, si cel purpos fa pre-igne et auxi la grande Aventure de leur Corps diversement. Et fur ceo per advys des toutz les Seignours en cest Parlement faire restreint des dits Challengez et qils ne passent aucunement. A quoi leur feust Responduz per le Roi qil voet ent estre advisez per les Seignours et Communes et fur ceo per l'aide de Dieux faire le mieulx pur la Salvation del Honour des dits Challengez Et outre ceo mcsme nostre Seignour le Roi moelt graciousement remercia les dits Seignours et Communes del grande Tendresse qils avoient pur Salvation de lui et de son Roialme et del grand Tresor de leur Coers qel ils lui avoient monstrez si entirement come dessuis est dit leur Empriantz de lui Conseiller coment cel Tresor purra plus longement estre gardez et mieultz despenduz al honour de Dieux et de son Roialme et il le voet fuir. Et fur ceo il feust dit de per le Roi as dits Seignours et Communes destre advisez sur les matires suis dites.

*Rot. Parl.
4 Hen. IV.
N. 12.*

ET puis apres les dits Communes prirent a mesme nostre Seignour le Roi, qe come Dieux de

de sa benigne Grace & per les graciouſes
meſnez nadgaires eſteantz a la bataille &
diſcomfiture ſur les Eſcotes lui avoit qe
furent Envoyez ſes Enemys ore en ſes
mayns Qe pleuſt a meſme noſtre Seig-
nour le Roi pur la Salvation de ſa Perſo-
ne Roiale de ſon Roialme & de ſes Lieges
per advys & ſage Conſeil des Seignours
Eſpirituels & Temporels & de ſon ho-
nourable Conſeil enſi ordeigner en ceſt
Parlement qe cel buſoign ſoit meſnez
traitez & Gouvernez per manere qe purra
eſtre plaiſant a Dieux & Aide, Paix &
Tranquillite de tout ſon Roialme & de ſes
Lieges. Et outre ceo prierent meſmes
les Comunes a noſtre Seignour le Roi qil
lui pleuſt ore a la venue de Count de Nor-
thumberland au Parlement lui honorer
& tenir en Chierie & lui mercier de ſes
grands labour & diligence qeux il adeu &
ſuſtenuz ſur la dite diſcomfiture qele Di-
eux lui ad envoyez ſur les Ecotes a ceſte
foitz.

I*Tem* Meſkardy le tierce Jour de Mar-
ce le Chancelier d'Engleterre mon-
ſtra as Seignours coment les Ambaſſia-
tours du Roi avoient eſte en Prais &
Hanſe & autres Parties de pardelea pur
Treter de Paix & de concord & coment

*Rot. Parl.
Hen. 4.
N. 10.*

sur un certain appointment illoeqes fait Proclamation se ferroit qe les Lieges du Roi qavoient attempte envers Ceux de Puce & de Hanse deussent faire Restitution des dits Attempts surqoy accordez est per les dits Seignours qe Proclamation soit fait per brief solone le purport du dit Appointement, come per l'enrollement en la Chancellerie des dits Briefs & des autres severalx Briefs directs as dits Lieges & autres, et auxi de diverses Commissions faits as diverses Persones celle Partie y purra plus pleinement apparoir.

Ibid N. 57. *Item* monstra mesme le jour le dit Monsieur Johan, coment le Chastel de manlyon qe est le chief de trois Roialmes est en Mayns de Monsieur Charles de Navar qest Alien & coment mesme le Chastel est inhabitez ovesqe diverses Aliens nient Lieges au Roi & per tant il Pria qun Engleys purroit estre Lieutenant & Capitaine illoeqes & qe les Engleyes & autres de la Ligeance du Roi purront demeurer el dit Chastel pur la Salvation dycell & del Pays environ.

— Tier.

Tercement pur Cherrier les *Rot. Parl.*
 Estrangers ses Amys, & *1. Hen. V.*
N. 2.
 autre ce de faire, resistance en contre sez
 Enemys de hors le Roialme. Pur quelx
 choses y covient d'avoir bon et sufficeant
 Conseil en especial et pertant qe mesme
 nostre Seigneur le Roy ne vorroit faire
 sans Advys et bon Conseil des ditz Seig-
 nours Esperituelx et Temporelx et auxi
 de les Communes suis dits, il ad envoiez
 pur eux a presant d'avoir leur bon Con-
 seil et advys en cestres Matiers et Sur se
 faire ce qe ferra plaissant a lui tout puissant
 et plus expedient et profitable pur le Bi-
 en de lui et de tout son Roialme.

Item Lundy le xxij. Jour de May vi- *Ibid N. 8.*
 endrent les Communes devant le Roi et
 les Seignours en Parlement et illoeqes le
 dit William de Stourton Parlour pur les
 dits Communes rehercea coment entre
 autres Articles moeves au Temps del
 Prononciation de mesme le Parliament y
 fust desirez par le Roy et per Advys des
 Seignours et Communes illoeqes este-
 antz qe bon Governance se purra faire et
 estre tenuz et Gardez en temps aveniz
 Reherceant qen temps nostre Seignour
 le

le Roi son Piere qe Dieux asfoyle y feust
pluseurs foitz requis per les dits Com-
munes de bon Governance & leur re-
queste grante mes coment y fust tenuz
et perfourmez en apres mesme nostre
Seignour le Roi en ad bon Conuzance.
Et pur tant pria le dit Parlour en Noun
des dits Communes qe come Dieux lui
ad endowez de grande seen & des plu-
seurs autres bountees & virtues qe desor-
enavant bon Governance se purra faire &
tenir & per aspeciale en lez Marches
Descoce & pur le faufgard du Meer & de
la Ville & Marche de Caleys & de la
Pays de Guyenne & de la Terre Dir-
land & pur la Resistance des Rebelx de
Gales & pur cesser les Riotes & Debates
en lez Marches de Gales & en especial de
considerer le Riote nadgaries fait en Ci-
rencestre en contre l Abbe & le Maison
illoeqes qest de la Foundation nostre
Seigniour le Roi & les pluseurs autres
Riotes faites de Jour en autre en diverses
Parties deinz le Royalme. A qoy per
Commandement de mesme nostre Seig-
nour le Roi feust responduz au dit Par-
lour qil per Advys de sez Compaignons
mettroit en escript especialement les dits
Compleintz et le Roi leur verroit pur-
voier de Remede per Advys des Seig-
nours

nours en Parlement a plus tost que se pur-
ra faire resonablement.

Item Joedy le xxv. Jour de May Jo- *ibid* N. 9.
han Doreward & autres certains Perso-
nes envoyez de per les Communes vien-
drent devant nostre Seignour le Roi &
les Seignours Esperituelx & Temporelx
esteantz en la Chambre de Conseil deinz
la Chambre de Parlement & illoeqes re-
hercea coment Lundy darrein passé y
feust desirez de per le Roi que les Com-
munes balleroient en Parlement les Ar-
ticles dessuis nomez plus especialement
en escript & per tant que le dit Parlour le
granta de la faire sons Advys & Assent
de ses dits Compaignons, le dit Johan
Doreward en Noun des dites Commu-
nes Pria le Roi de leur avoir pur excusez
per certains Causes que per aventure pur-
roient estre delay & Retardation du Par-
lement Et que pleust au Roi nostre Seig-
nour d'accepter une Cedula breifment a-
poyntez de les Articles dessuis dits Aqoy
feust responduz que nostre dit Seignour le
Roi voillant monstrier bon Seignourie &
voluntée a ses dits Communes graciou-
sement accepte la dite Cedula Et leur ti-
ent bien excusez de les grante & Promesse
a lui faits per le dit Parlour en Parlement
de quele Cedula la Tenure sensuent. *Ar-*

*Articles monstrez en Presence du Roi par
le Parlour de Parlement.*

Touchant la Terre Dirland.

Touchant la Marche de Gales.

Touchant la Marche Descocce.

Touchant la Marche de Caleys.

Touchant la Duchee de Guien.

Touchant la Saufgarde de Meer.

Touchant la Navie D'engleterre.

Touchant Establissement de bone Go-
vernance ove due Obeyfance a les
Leys deinz la Roialme.

Touchant leur Provisione pur Resist-
ance de les Enemys.

*Rot. Parl.
3 Hen V.
N. 14.*

LEvesqe de Wincestre Chan-
celler D'engleterre recita &
declara per Commandement du Roy les
Causes de mesme l'Adjournement Un
pur tant qe chescun des dits Seignours
& Communes Servir purroit le Solem-
pne Feste de Pasqe le dit Adjournement
ensuant a sa propre lieu & Esglise, & lui
accorder illoeqes ovesqe son Salveour, so-
lone l'auncien Usage & Custume; Une
autre purtant qe le Roi per certains Mes-
sages ja tard appris coment Pees & bon
Accord de Parte son Adversaire de France
ad este mueve & desire per lui & nostre
dit

dit Tres Sovereigne Seignour as ceux il ad a tout Temps appliee, la droit de sa Corone toutz dits Sauvez, le quel, sans Assent & le bon Conseil destates de Roialme ne vorra concluder. Et la Tierce, pur ceo qe le tres honourable Prince le Roi de Romaines desirant principalement Pees & Unitee en lesglise universelle & auxi per entre Roialmes & Roialmes Chrestiens foy ad afforcee & labouree envers la Partie Francyse davoit Pees & bon Accord ovesqe nostre Seignour tres Sovereign avant dit & ses Lieges & a cel entent est ja tard venuz hors de France cy en Engleterre ove tiele Reporte come ill est la quell nest mye ungore a Roi publiee mes deinz brief temps y ferra a Roi demonstre sur la quelle le Roi en apres par bone advise de son tres sage Conseil cy present purra estre appris qe a lui soit le mieulz profitable & honourable affair en le matire. Et puis furent les dites Communes Chargiez de parte le Roi qils procedent avaunt entour leur Communes busoignes et Affaires le meen Temps.

ET ore est ceste le fisme Parliament nostre dit Sovereign Seignour
Rot. Parl.
4. Hen. V.
N. 3.

Seignour en le quel, per le force & Execution du bon & gracious Aide Conseil & Assistance des Seignours & Communaltee du Roialme cy presents a donerz & purveierz en ycell tiel effect & Exploit, par la haute Grace de Dieu en la dit Querelle se prendront, qen apres de Guerre Cesserons & a Pees & Quiete perpetuelle aviendrons.

Rot. Ibid.
N. 14.

Fait assavoir qe sur certains Alliances per entre nostre Souvereign Seignour le Roi pur lui ses Heires & Successours Rois D'engleterre dune Parte & le honorable Prince Segismond le Roi des Romains pur luy & ses Successours Rois de Romains dautre parte nadgaires pris & accordez solone leffecte & la fourme especifiez es lettres Patentes nostre dit Sovereigne Seignour ent faitz et en cest present Parliament overtement monstrez et declarez, des queux Letres la Tenure cy ensuit.

Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Anglia, &c.

Le Roi nostre tres Souvereign Seignour suis dit voillant qe les dits Alliances duissent estre perpetuelx eu sur tous les Choses Contenuz en les dits Lettres

Lettres due et solemne Trettee en ceo
mesme Parlement ovesqe tres toutz les
Ercevesqes, Evêsqes, Ducs, Countes,
et Barouns, et toutz autres Estats Espi-
rituelx et Temporelx et auxint les Com-
munes du Roialme en mesme le Parle-
ment assemblez les dits Alliances et Con-
federations et toutz les Choses avant dits
en Manere et fourme en les dits Lettres
Patentes recitez de leur Comun Assent
et Consent en le dit Parlement et per
l'auctorite dicell qanke en nostre dit Sou-
vereign Seignour est pur lui et ses Heires
et Successours avant ditz ratifia approu-
va et confirma et de fait ratifie approuve
et confirme per Ycestes.

FAit assavoir qe le xxi Jour de No-
vember Thomas Rokeby Chiva-
ler, Walter de la Pool Chivaler, Willi-
am Baynard Christopher de Corwen et
Robert Darcy envoyez per les Commu-
nes du Roialme en cest present Parle-
ment esteantx a Monseignour le Duc de
Glocestre et a les autres Seignours Espi-
rituelx et Temporelx en mesme la Par-
lement declarerent per le dit William qe
touz leur Compaignons les Chivalers
Citizens et Burgois venuz a dit Parle-
ment

*Rot. Parl.
2. Hen. VI.
N. 10.*

ment pur toute Commune du Roialme de
 tres toutz leur Coers remercieront mon
 dit Seignour Duc de Glocestre et toutz
 les autres Seignours suis dits qe leur pleust
 de faire les dits Communes d'avoir Notice
 et Conizance per declaration de Mon-
 seignour le Chanceler a eux jatarde faite
 de la Tretee sur les Matieres touchantes
 le Roi Descocce movez per entre les dits
 Seignours et les Ambassatours du Roial-
 me Descocce, Cestassavoir pur la Deli-
 verance du dit Roi Descocce et des Ho-
 stages apprendre pur ces Costages; Et
 auxi pur sa Marriage, les deux matiers
 sembleront as dits Communes bones et
 profitables pur nostre Seignour le Roi et
 de tout son Roialme fils purroient per
 leur tres sages Discretions tendre a bon
 et final Conclusion; En suppliantz a les
 Seignours suis dits qe leur plerroit sur la
 Tretee des dits Matiers en outre proce-
 der et Ycelles solone leur tres sages Ad-
 vys et Discrecions finalement concluder
 Et ceo fait, de faire les dits Communes
 de mesme la Conclusion avoir notice et
 Conifance a le tres grande Consolation
 et Confort si bien deux come de toute la
 Commune du Roialme.

Memorandum

Memorandum, quod vicesimo octavo Rot. ibid. N. 27.
 die Januarii, Anno Regni Regis Hen-
 ricī Sexti post Conquestum secundo,
 concordatum fuit & ordinatum de Avi-
 famento Dominorum Spiritualium &
 Temporalium Regni Angliæ, & Assensu
 Communitatis ejusdem in præsentī Par-
 liamento existentium: Quod pro invio-
 labili observatione & conservatione
 quorundam Articulorum inter venera-
 bilem Patrem Wigornię Episcopum,
 Joannem Stafford Thesaurarium An-
 gliæ, Willielmum Alnwyk Custodem
 Privati Sigilli, Legum Doctores; Ra-
 dulphum Dominum de Cromwel,
 Johannem Pelham Militem, Williel-
 mum Harynton Militem, Robertum
 Waterton Armigerum, & Johannem
 Stokes Legum Doctorem, Commissarios
 five Deputatos ipsius Domini Regis,
 & venerabilem Patrem Willielmum
 Glasquen. Episcopum; Abbates Mona-
 steriorum de Tambuskneith & de Bal-
 burmach, Patricium de Dunbar de
 Bele, Robertum de Lawedre de Edryn-
 ton Milites; nec non Egidium de
 Borthwyck Archidiaconum Glasquen.
 & Patricium de Howeston Licentiatum
 in Legibus, Canonicum Glasquen.

G g

Am-

Ambaffiatores & Nuncios ex parte Regni Scotiæ, pro liberatione Jacobi Scotorum Regis transmissos, in quodam Tractatu inter eos habito appun-ctuatorum quædam Literæ Patentes sub magno Sigillo ipsius Domini Regis fierent in forma subsequenti. HENRICUS Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, universis & singulis, ad quos præsentēs Literæ pervenerint, Salutem. Noveritis, quod cum nos nuper certos nostros Commis-farios sive Deputatos; viz. venerabi-lem Patrem Wigornia Episcopum, dilectos Clericos nostros Johannem Stafford Thesaurarium nostrum Angliæ, Willielmum Alnwyk Custodem Privati Sigilli nostri, Legum Doctores; Ra-dulphum Dominum de Cromwel, Jo-hannem Pelham Militem, Willielmum Harynton Militem, Robertum Water-ton Armigerum, & Johannem Stokes Legum Doctorem: ipsos septem, sex, quinque, quatuor, aut ipforum tres, sub certa forma constituerimus & ordina-verimus ad conveniendum, tractandum, concordandum, & finaliter concluden-dum cum venerabili Patre Willielmo Glasquen. Episcopo; Abbatibus Mo-nasteriorum de Cambuskmeth & de Bal-

Balmurmach, Patricio de Dunbar de Bele,
Roberto de Lawedre de Edryngton,
Militibus; nec non * Georgio de * So in the
Borthwyke Archidiacono Glasquen. & Record.
Patricio de Howeston Licentiato in
Legibus, Canonico Glasquen. Ambaf-
fiatoribus & Nunciis ex parte Regni
Scotiæ, pro liberatione carissimi con-
sanguinei nostri Jacobi Scotorum Regis
transmissis, ipsique Commissarii &
Deputati nostri, ac Ambaffiatores &
Nuncii Regni Scotiæ subsequenter in
numero sufficienti certis diebus & locis
convenientes, & super liberatione præ-
dicta & aliis ipsam concernentibus tra-
ctantes & conferentes nonnullos Arti-
culos inter ipsos concordatos in ea parte
appunctuaverint; & inter cætera, quod
primo die Martii prox. futur. Com-
missarii nostri, præfatusque carissimus
consanguineus noster Jacobus Rex
prædictus, ac Ambaffiatores Regni
Scotiæ in Ecclesia Dunelm. pro ulteriori
expeditione & executione dictorum
Articulorum, ut præmittitur appun-
ctuatorum convenient, prout in Literis
super hujusmodi appunctuamentis con-
fectis de dat. London. quarto die De-
cembris, Anno Regni nostri secundo,
ac Sigillis dictorum Commissariorum

& Ambaffiatorum hinc inde figillatis, plenius continetur. Nos hujusmodi appunctuamenta per dictos Commiffarios nostros, noſtra auctoritate facta & conclufa, & ipſos in ea parte quatenus nos concernunt inviolabiliter obſervari facere volentes; ac de prudentia, circumſpectione, fidelitate & induſtria venerabilium in Chriſto Patrum, Johannis London. & Thomæ Dunelm. Episcoporum ac cariffimorum conſanguineorum noſtrorum Henrici Northumberland. Radulphi Weſtmorland. Comitum, & Richardi Nevyl Gardiani Weſt-March. Willielmi Alnwyk Cuſtodis Privati Sigilli, Thomæ Domini de Dacre, Johannis Baronis de Greyſtock, & Roberti Umfravile, octo, ſeptem, & ſex eorum plenarie confidentes, ipſos octo, ſeptem, & ſex eorum, de aſſenſu & aviſamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium, ac Communitatis Regni noſtri Angliæ in præſenti Parlamento noſtro exiſtentium, fecimus & conſtituimus Commiſſarios, Deputatos, ſive Nuncios noſtros, ad conveniendum cum præfato cariffimo conſanguineo noſtro Jacobo Rege prædicto, & Ambaffiatoribus pro & ex parte Regni Scotiæ quibuſcunque deputatis

putatis five deputandis, primo die mensis Martii prox. futur. in Ecclesia Dunelm. prædicta cum continuatione & prorogatione dierum & locorum ex tunc sequentium, si oporteat. Faciendum, ac ad recipiendum pro securitate hujusmodi appunctuatorum Obsides Literas Obligatorias, Cautionesque, & alias Promissiones & Juramenta concordata, tam ante præfati carissimi consanguinei nostri Liberationem, quam etiam post tradenda, liberanda & facienda, Obsidesque, ac Literas, & Securitates minus sufficientes & invalidas reproband. & recusand. atque sufficientes prætend. & admittend. & de numero & qualitate Servitorum tam Anglicorum quam Scotorum, qui cum ipsis Obsidibus pro tempore quo in Regno nostro remanebunt, stare debeant concordand. & appunctuand. nec non ipsum carissimum consanguineum nostrum Regem prædictum, juxta hujusmodi appunctuata, & ipsorum, vim, formam & effectum liberand. & finaliter quoad ipsius Personam, de Potestate nostra & Regno nostro Angliæ dimittend. omniaque alia singula faciend. exercend. & expediend. quæ ad Complementum & Executionem præ-

dictorum Appunctuatorum hujusmodi necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna promittentes. Nos de assensu & avisamento prædictis, nos gratum, ratum, & firmum habituros totum & quicquid quod per dictos Commissarios nostros octo, septem, & sex eorum, actum, gestum, sive factum fuerit in præmissis, seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus, &c.

Rot. Parl.
8. Hen. 6.
N. 12.

ITEM, considerato qualiter carissimus consanguineus Domini Regis Dux Burboniæ maxime ut dicebatur, affectabat ad tractandum cum Domino Rege & Consilio suo pro Financia & Redemptione facienda pro deliberatione sua habenda qualiter etiam idem Dux homageum ligeum eidem Domino nostro fecit; ac in membris suis per diversas infirmitates, adeo debilis, & quasi confractus devenit, quod se circa Actus Guerri nos de cætero occupare, aut armâ in posterum gerere, ut creditur non valebit. Pensatis similiter, & diligenter attentis immensis dampnis & deper-

deperditis quæ dicto domino Regi per Mortem prefati Ducis, si ipse ante Tractatum hujusmodi deficeret, de facili possent evenire, ac etiam quantum Financia sua predicta dicto Domino nostro Regi proficeret, si Tractatus hujusmodi effectum Debitum sortiretur, de Avisamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium in præsentì Parlamento existentium Concordatum fuit, ac Expediens videbatur eisdem, quod Dominus noster Rex & dictum Consilium suum circa Tractatum predictum intenderent cum effectu.

ITem for as moche as in the Tretee of
of the Pees made nought longe agoo
bytwyx the Kyng of noble Memorie
Hen. the V^{te}. late our Soveraigne Lord
and his Fadre Charles of Fraunce yt
ys conteyned that noon of the Parties
shall entree or make ony Tretee of Pees
or Accord with Charles the Daufyn
withoute the Assent of the Estats of
bothe Remnys that is to sey of Englonde
and of Fraunce. And it is hold for

Rot. Parl. 9.
Hen. 6. N.
18.

certain that our holy Fadre the Pope sendeth nowe downe into Fraunce the most reverend Fadre in God the Cardinal of Seint Crois to Tretee the Pees bytwyx the Kyng and the seyde Daufyn. And also the Kyng of Spayne sent hider but late agoo his Ambassadeures which entred Tretee of Pees the which Tretee is yit hangyng betwix the Kyng our Sovereygne Lord and hym for theym theyre Remnys Lordshipps and Subgettz. And semblably the Kyng of Scotts hath send nowe hider his Solempne Ambassadeures to Tretee a Pees finale betwix the Kyng and him and theyre two Remnys. And as every Mon endow- ed wyth Reson may well consydere that nys nought covenantable ne fyttynge ne lyke to be to the Plesire of God ne of the World a Cristen Prynce to refuse Pees offred with menys resonable ne the Tretee therof yf that be desyred of hym the whych by the Law of God hym owed to persue and folowe. And alsoo consydering the Burdon of the Werre and howe grevous and hevy that ys to this Londe and howe behofful therefore the Pees were to hit. Yt ys Ordeyned and advysed by the Lords Spirituelx and Temporelx and Comyns

Comyns being in this present Parlement that my Lords of Bedford and Gloucestre and my Lord Cardinal and other of the Kyngs Blood and of his Counseyl may trette the Pees on the Kyngs behalfe with the seyde Partyes or ony other And yf theym thynk the Menys of Pees offred by that other Partys covenable and good to the Kyng and his Subgettz theine to receive hem. And semblably to offre for the Kyngs Partye Menys that shall be thought to them convenable and expedient and by swich Menys to conclude and accord the Pees to Goddes Plesure. Saving to the seyde Roialme of Englonde and to all the Kyngs Lieges and Subgettz thereof theyre Heires and theyre Successours all theyre Libertees Freedoms Laws Customes and Priviledges that they theyre Auncestres and Predecessours haveth had afore this Tyme in the seid Roialme. And that they and itche of theym be demened and governed after the Laws Usages and Customes of the seid Roialme of Englonde and in noon otherwyse this Act notwithstanding

Rot. Parl.
14. Hen. 6.
N. 2.

--- **J**Amque prefatus Dominus noster Rex ex fide digna relatione didicit quod prefatus Dux Burgundiæ cum prefato Adversario suo Franciæ Pacem iniit & eidem parti Adversæ contra dictum dominum nostrum Regem totis viribus satagit adhærere Sicque videtur quod eundem dominum nostrum Regem premissa Trupha & derisoria per dictam partem adversam oblata admittere & nomen stilum titulum & honorem Regis Franciæ dimittere aut dictum Regnum suum Franciæ ac Jura & Dominia sua ibidem & in Ducatu suo Normanniæ armata potentia defendere oportebit ut igitur idem Dominus noster Rex super premissis ac aliis pro defensione dicti Regni sui Angliæ necessariis & oportunitis per ipsorum Prelatorum procerum & Communium Sanas discretionem possit avisari, dictum presens Parliamentum ex assensu Consilii sui, fecit convocari. &c.

---And

AND also my sayd Lord of Suffolke in this his sayd Declaration, notified to my said Lords how in his sayd being beyond the See bee the Kings Commandment for the Causes above said hee neither uttered ne communed of the Specialtie of the matters concerning in any wise the said Treaty of Peace nor of what manner of thing the same Treaty should be, but only referred it to our said Sovereigne Lord, and to all those the which he will call to him in this matter at the comeing of the said Ambassiatours into this Realme, And also my said Lord of Suffolke said at the same time to my sayd Lords, how hee afore that time had opened this matter to the King and advartized him the same And then the King gave him in Commandement to open the said matters as well to my sayd Lords being in this present Parliament as to the Commons Assembled in the same Parliament in their House accustomed The which matters so opened by my Lord of Suffolke to my said Lords by force of the Kings Commandement he by the same Commandement the third day of June then

Rot. Parl.
 23. Hen. 6.
 N. 19.

then next following to the said Commons in their House Accustomed in the presence of certaine Lords Spiritual and Temporal there then being present opened and Declared Praying all the Commons that they would have this in their Remembrance that in the wise aforefayd whatsoever fell for defaute of Provision for that Lord that thus he had acquitt him to the King apart and to all the Lords and hereof he desired an Act to be entered in the Parliament Roll the which was granted him.

Rot. ibid.
N. 24.

Item quidem Actus per prefatum Dominum nostrum Regem ac Dominos & Communes supradictos factus fuit in Parlamento predicto in forma subsequenti. How hit be that in a Treaty of Peace made betwixt the King of Noble Memory Henry the Fifth Fader unto our Sovereigne Lord the King and his Fader Charles of France. 'Tis among other things conteined that none of the Parties should enter or make any Treaty of Peace or of Accord with the Kings Uncle

Uncle that now is, that time called Charles the Dauphin without the Assent of three Estates of each Reames that is to say of England and of France, which afterwards by Parliament in this Reame was Authorised in the time of your sayd Noble Fader The King will by the Assent of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Comyns of this present Parliament that the sayd Article so Authorised be voyd irrite cassed adnulled and of noe force ne effect, And that no person or persons for his faithful and true Council given or be given unto the King after the witt and grace that God list to give him or any of them shall be impeached hurt or greved but shall stand therefore at all dayes quite and discharged against him and his Heires and Successors for ever more Saving alway to his Reame of Englonde, and to all his Leiges and Subjects thereof, their Heires and their Successors all their Liberties Freedomes Laws Customes and Privileges that they their Auncestors and Predecessors have had within this Reame afore this time Except the Matter that is comprised in the Article abovesaid And that they and each of them be demened and governed after the Lawes Usages and

and Customes of this said Reame of England and in none otherwise This Act notwithstanding Neither that ony hurt nor Greve in ony wise grow to the Comyn of this Reame their Heirs nor Successors in time to come, by force of this present Act nor by ony thing therein contained.

Rot. Parl.
7 Edw. 4.
N. 26.

BUT first that it was to be remembered the Estate and Condition that this Reame stood in other then it dide at the time of the Kings Entre to Use and take upon *him* his Right and Title as veray and Rightful King of England.

For at that time this Land was full naked and barreyn of Justice, the Pees not kept nor Laws duely ministred within the same. And was also spoiled of the Crown of France the Dutchies of Normandy Gascoigne and Guien and also with Enmete envirounded and leide about on every side, As with Denmarke Spayne Scotland Breteyne and
other

other parties. And alsoo with our
old and auntient Enemyes of France.

And howe it was then he reported
him unto theym they understood it
well ynowe for it appeareth at iye
and sheweth it self thanked bee Al-
mighty God. And what the King hath
donne to the performeing of his sayd
Intent hee declared. that how first his
sayd Highnesse had laboured a Stablish-
ment and Pees in his owne Reame.

And also he had concluded with the
King of Spaine a Leige and perpetuell
Pees with Entrecourse of Merchaun-
dise.

Also a Pees and Leige with the
King of Danemark and Entrecourse
of Merchaundise.

Also an Amity and Entercourse of
Merchaundise with his Old Friends of
Almayne.

Also a Pees with Scotland for L
Winter.

Also an Amity and Leige with En-
trecourse of Merchaundise taken with
the King of Naples.

And also how that it was in a good
way for a Leige and Amity with Enter-
course of Merchaundise to be taken with
the King of Arragon, which had been
doon

doon er that time if the Ambassatours of Arragon had had full and sufficient power which he supposed should be reformed in short time.

And over that had made an Amite and Confederation with that high and mighty Prince the Duke of Burgoigne which should wedde the Lady Margaret the King's Sister.

And also an Amity and Confederation with the Duke of Breteyne which two Dukes been the meyhrtiest Princes that holden of the Crowne of Fraunce.

All which Labours Confederations and Conclusions he had laboured and bourne on his great Cost and Charge as well by sending out of Ambassatours as in resceiving of Ambassatours for the same forthwith grete and notable Rewardes moniways.

And all these Labours and Matiers he had used and done at his propre Charge as Meanes to a Principal Intent (that is to say) to minish and less the power of his old and antient Adversay of Fraunce. the French King whereby his said Heyhness shuld mowe the lightlyer and rather recover his Right and Title to the Crowne and Lond

Lond of Fraunce, and possession of the same.

Wherefore his seid Heyhnesse was fully sett and purposed, with the might and help of Almighty God, and with Advyse and Assistens of his Lords Spirituell and Temporell, and also of the Commons of this Lond, to proceed and perfourme his said principal intent for the defens of this Lond, that is to sey, to goe over the See into Fraunce, and to subdue his grete Rebel and Adversary Lowes usurpant King of the same, and to recover and enjoy the Title and Possession of the seid Reame of Fraunce forthwith his Dutchies and Lordshipps of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guien, and other: And to that end and purpose his Heyhnesse is dayly called upon, and also written and send unto, by outward Princes as the Duke of Burgoigne, which was one of the moost mightiest Princes of the World that beareth noo Crowne.

And the Duke of Bretayne and others seying and promising that and he would come and procede unto the

H h

Reco-

Recovery of his seid Right and Title they would goe and labour with him in their owne Persones for the Recovery of the same at their Costs and Expences.

For they sey and certifie dayly unto the King's Highness, that in theyre Conceites there was never noon of the King's Progenitours, or Predecessours, that ever had such a convenient Season for the Recovery thereof as he then hadde if yt were used in tyme. Whereupon they harken and the tyme were not used they moost provide for themself.

For certein it is thoo' Princes be mortal and have no Issue Malle; and what Chaunge and Casueltee of the World might fall yf the tyme were not used while there were oppertunity God knoweth. For it is the seying of Wise Men, that convenient tyme and expedient wold alwey be used and not lost.

For tyme is a grete thing in advantage, and better it were to prevent the
Tyme

Tyme and occupie the said Adversarie at home, than to suffre him to entre this Lond and occupie us here.

For doubtlesse and the King goe not thither, his seid Adversarie wuld come hither, and what Pollicy wuld be therein he reported hym unto theyr wisdomes, desiring the seid Lords Spirituel and Temporel and Comyns confidering the Premisses and the State that the Londe then stood in. And that as whose seieth the King had then but oone Enemy, that is to sey the Fraunch King, from whome the King our said Sovereign Lord had drawen away by meanes the mightiest Princes that held of his seid Adversarye as it hath bene above reherfed. And specially as a meane to his seid principal Entent had laboured Marriage to be had betwixt the seid Duke of Burgoine and his Suster,

Which matter amongst meny of the Lordes Spirituel and Temporel in his Counsaile late hold at Coven-

tre was shewed and declared, which matter the King's Highnesse, because they were then present more plener in nombre, entended then to open and declare unto theym by his owne Mouth, and alsoo his Entent and Disposition for the Recovere of his seid Title and Right to the Crowne of Fraunce to yeve theyre seid Avyse and Counsaile unto him in that behalfe.

Considering moreover and remembering in their grete Wifdomes his Age and Habilitie ;

And also the grete Corage and Feruens that he had to the Defens of this his Londe, And that he wuld spend his time in his dayes to the Honor of the Londe and Worshippe of God, as heretofore his Noble Progenitours had done.

Considering also the Disposition of the People of this Londe how that they must be Occupied.

And

And alsoo that the Disposition, and Entent of his seid Adversary was to Lond and entre this Reame. And how God had marked and sett the Hearts of his Friends, straunge Princes outwards, to Assist hym, which dayly wrote and sent unto hym for the same it was Marvelous to think upon.

And therefore yf the tyme were not Used, peradventure thoo that then were Freinds, might chaunge into Enemys, which were too grete a Losse.

These Causes and Things, and meny other, moved the King's Highness soe that he might have the Assistance of the Three Estates of this Lond, and that every of them wuld doe his Office and Duete to procede and follow the Recovere of his Reame of Fraunce and Lordshipps beyond the See for the Wel Surete Pees and Defens of this Lond with the grace of God.

Rot. Parl.
13. Ed. 4.
N. 2.

THE King calling unto his tender Remembrance how that in tymes passed unto now of late, the Merchants and People of the Nation of Almayn being under, and of the Confederation, Ligue, and Company, called the Dutchie Hanze, otherwise called Merchants of Almayne, haveing the House in London commonly called Guildhalda Teutonicorum, have had and Used free and Freindly Communication and Entercourse of Merchandize with his Subjects of this his Noble Reame of Englond, and they with theym, to the Encrese Avayle and Commonwele of both Parties, as Experience evidently hath proved.

And how that sithen the oo Partie toke displeasure ayents that other, grete Inconveniencs Losses and Damages have ensued, not onely by meane of open Werre doone and exercise by either upon other, but also in withdrawing the accustomed Advantages and Commodities which
else

else shuld have comen to him, his
seid Subgettes, and theym alsoo, by
free intercourse they bere in his seid
Reame, and his seid Subjetts in their
Parties and Countreys exercising Fete
of Merchaundize as it is well known.

In Consideration whereof, and to
thentent that by Godds Grace the
Werre and Hostilite that hath be
twixt both Parties may utterly seasse
and be avoyded, the old Friendlyhood
also betwixt them to be renoveled in
such Wise as it may abide and endure
for ever :

By thadvyse and Assent of the Lords
Spirituelx and Temporelx and the
Comyns in this present Parlement Af-
sembled, and by Auctorite of the same,
wolle of his gracious and bounteous
Disposition, That it be ordeyned esta-
blished and enacted That noon of the
seyd Merchants, &c.

-----Whereunto the seyde Merchants
of the Hanze by their Orators have
Assented and Agreed, &c.

Nos Considerantes præfatos Mercatores Alemanniæ Mercatores Hanze Teutonicæ vulgariter Nuncupatæ in dicto Regno & Dominiis nostris dictis suis privilegiis libertatibus concessionibus & Indultis occasione Guerrarumurbationum & hostiliatum jam nuper inter subditos nostros & ipsos de Hanza prædicta Contigentium destitutos & exinde tam ipsos quam subditos nostros multipliciter fuisse & esse Lessos ex certis bonis respectibus nos moventibus de Avisamento & assensu Dominorum Spirituum & Temporalium ac Communitatis Regni nostri Angliæ in præsentis Parlamento nostro existentium & Auctoritate ejusdem Parliamenti ac certa nostra Scientia pro nobis & Heredibus ac universis Successoribus nostris ipsos Mercatores Hanze in pristinum Statum utendi & fruendi in dicto nostro Angliæ Regno & aliis locis nobis Subjectis supradictis suis omnibus & singulis Privilegiis Libertatibus Concessionibus & Indultis quæ fuerunt aut esse debuerunt si Guerræ Turbationes & Hostilitates hujusmodi non contigissent reponenda & integre

tegre restituenda duximus ac tenore
presentium reponimus & integre resti-
tuimus si quod supradicti Meratores
Hanze predicte & eorum Successores
universis Privilegiis Libertatibus Con-
cessionibus & Indultis supradictis uti &
frui debeant perpetuis futuris tempori-
bus eo Modo quo usi sunt aut usi fuif-
sent si predicte Guerra Turbationes &
Hostilitates non accidissent, &c.

Articles

Articles du TRAITE
D'ENTRE
La France & l'Angleterre
FAIT PAR

Le Cardinal Mazarin & Cromwel.

ART. I.

QUE le Traite d'entre Henry le Grand, la feüe Reine Elizabeth, & feu Roy Louis xij avec Jacques Stuart, Successeur de la dite feüe Reine, fere renouvelé.

Art. II.

ART. II.

Que la Somme de 9. Millions de livres prestées par la dite feüe Reine Elizabeth avec Henry le Grand, feu les intersts liquides à 13 Millions, seront rembour féala Republique d'Angleterre, comme estant au lieu & place des sus dits Roys.

ART. III.

Quemoyennant le sus dit payement la sus dile Republique d' Angleterre, fournira, & entretiendra, a ses dépens 12 Navires de Guerre, dans la Mediterranée, pour y joindre l'armée Navale de France, & recevoir les Ordres de son Admiral, sur les expéditions qui seront afaire contre l' Espagne, & six autres pour Croiser la Mer de Dunkerk, pour y empescher les Vivres.

Art. IV.

ART. IV.

Quela Republique d'Angleterre sera obligée de fournir au Rey de France 40. Navires de Guerre, pour aider a reprendre Dunkerk & Gravelin, & icelles reprises le dit Roy assistera de son Armee a la dite Republique, pour aider a reprendre Ostende & Niuport.

ART. V.

Qu'il y aura Ligue offensive & deffensive entre la France & l'Angleterre, envers tous & contre tous, & que le Roy d'Angleterre, le Duc de York & de Gloucester, & autres Seigneurs Anglois fortiront hors de France, sans esperer rentrer tant que le traité durera, & qu'au regard de la Reine d'Angleterre, Comme elle est Fille de France, elle n'y bongera. Enrevanche la Republique d'Angleterre, ne recevra, n'y donnera aucune retriante aux Ennemis de ce't Estat.

ART.

A R T. VI.

Qu'en toutes les Villes & Bourgs de ce Royaume, ou il y aura des Havres, & des Ports, la Nation Angloise y aura Commerce, & y pourra faire bastir des Temples pour l'Exercise de la Religion, & sera permis aux Francois de la Religion, qui y feront aux environs, d'y faire prescher en Francois.

A R T. VII.

Que les Edits de Janvier & de Nantes seront executez selon leurs Formes & Teneurs & toute la Nation Angloise demeurera Caution pour l'Execution des dits Edits.

F I N I S.

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Touchant le titre de R. de France p. 152.

Touchant l'hommage que le Roi Jean fit de ses
vassaux au pape p. 139. 150.

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